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*The cover:* The Moscow Grocery Co., Ltd., one of Moscow's early businesses, located on the North west corner of Main and Third Streets. For identification of individuals pictured, see page 24.

The Latah County Historical Society, a non-profit cooperative society, was incorporated under the laws of the State of Idaho in 1973 as the Latah County Museum Society, Inc. In 1985 the Articles of Incorporation were amended to change the name to its present one.

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# Ancient Residents of the Snake River

Keith C. Petersen

(Editor's note: This article is condensed from a chapter in Keith Petersen's book, *River of Life, Channel of Death: Fish and Dams on the Snake*, which will be published by Confluence Press in the spring of 1995. Petersen is the author of *Company Town: Potlatch, Idaho, and the Potlatch Lumber Company* and *This Crested Hill: An Illustrated History of the University of Idaho*. Photographs were provided courtesy of the Marmes Project, Washington State University. )

Geologists have a unique perspective on time. Ten thousand years is a wink. Sometimes they consider it pinpoint accuracy to isolate an earth-changing event within a few million years. But in human scale 10,000 years is an eternity. Contemplate it for a moment. Think beyond grandparents and great-grandparents. Think about more than 400 generations of ancestors. Work your mind in a new dimension. Archaeologists refer to the time 10,000 years ago as 10000 B.P. — 10,000 years before the present. You have to reflect far back to give 10,000 years its proper respect. Greeks constructed the Parthenon about 1450 B.P. Mayan civilization began about 2600 B.P. Moses led a group of Hebrews out of Egypt around 3200 B.P. Egyptian pharaohs oversaw construction of their pyramids about 4500 B.P. Residents of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley developed a system of writing about 5,000 B.P. From that milestone you are halfway back.

Five thousand years before Mesopotamian writers, 7,000 years before Moses, and 8,000 years before Christ, people lived in a rockshelter near the

confluence of the Palouse and Snake rivers. They fished the streams and hunted the plains. They gathered grains and berries. They sewed clothes. They prepared their dead for the next world. Their children swam in the water and skipped rocks and chased each other laughing and yelling along the river banks, as kids still do; their elders told stories in evenings around a fire, as oldsters still do. These were not simpletons, cartoon Neanderthals with clubs. These people lived a complex life full of joy and grief, good times and bad. They were some of the earliest residents of the Western Hemisphere.

On a hot summer day in 1965, Roald Fryxell trudged through a narrow bake-oven trench behind a bulldozer driven by Roland Marmes. They worked just upstream from the confluence of the Palouse and Snake rivers. Dust covered their sweat-soaked clothes. Fryxell, a geologist with Washington State University's Laboratory of Anthropology, had previously uncovered artifacts in a nearby rockshelter. Now he was cutting below the land surface in front



of the shelter to better read the area's geologic calendar. He had hired Marmes, who owned the property, to bulldoze his path through time.

As Marmes scooped silt, Fryxell found bone fragments. He halted the day's work, gathered the bones, and sketched how they lay. Marmes went back to his farm; Fryxell placed the bones and drawings in his weathered pickup and drove the 80 miles to campus. Neither of their lives would ever be the same. While they didn't yet know it, Fryxell had just made one of the momentous discoveries of North American archaeology.

Richard Daugherty first became acquainted with the Pacific Northwest's prehistory as a summer intern on a Smithsonian Institution river-basin survey a couple years after World War II. Congress had authorized the Army Corps of Engineers to build dams in the region, and archaeologists rushed to dig sites before the Engineers buried them under water. By the time I interviewed him in 1990, Daugherty was the acknowledged dean of Northwest archaeologists, a man so in tune with his passions that prior to open-heart surgery he ordered the physician to discard his steel scalpels in favor of obsidian blades, the cutting edge of choice for prehistoric residents of the West. Daugherty owed much of his fame to discoveries made at the rockshelter Marmes and Fryxell excavated on that hot day in 1965. Daugherty had been around by

then; he knew a significant discovery when he saw one. And he proved a master at garnering publicity for that particular dig.

One of the first sites Daugherty worked in the Northwest was Lind Coulee in central Washington, a place threatened by irrigation canals planned as part of Grand Coulee Dam's massive Columbia Basin Project. By the 1950s he had proven the site to be 9,000 years old, the first ancient archaeological location discovered in the state of Washington. Lind Coulee enthused Northwest archaeologists: There were bound to be other sites of equal or older vintage. Here in the Northwest they hoped to find evidence of some of the New World's earliest inhabitants.

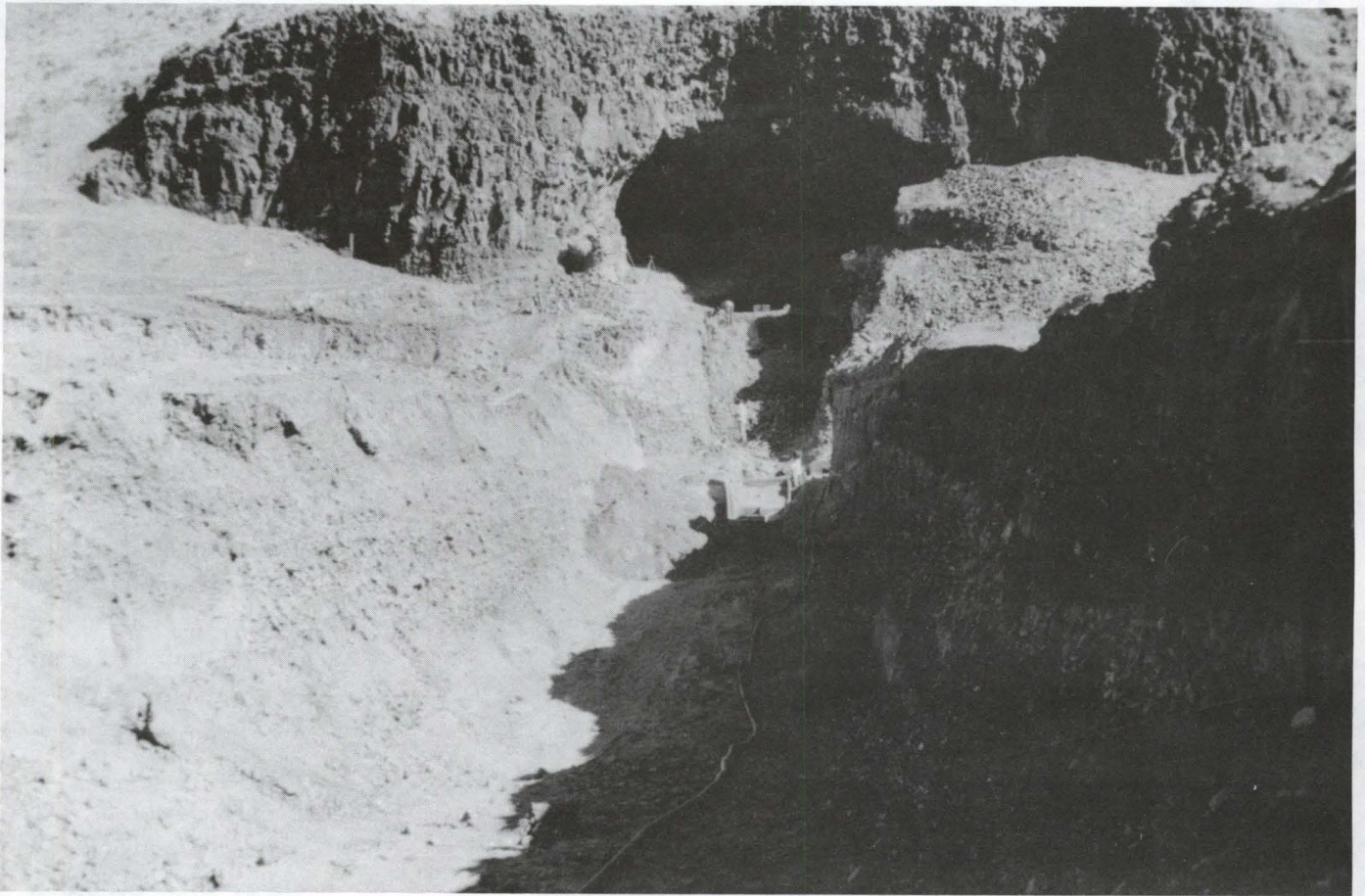
Later, Daugherty concentrated his attention on the Snake River region. John McGregor, grandson of the founder of one of Washington's largest agribusinesses, had first toured him to rockshelters near the family's huge ranch in the early 1950s. "He showed me what came to be known as the Marmes Rockshelter, but I dismissed it because I thought it was too low and would have been under water 9,000 years ago," Daugherty recalled. So Daugherty and his crews dug other sites along the Snake. They found excellent material, some of it more than 6,000 years old. They also discovered many more places deserving excavation. Richard Daugherty would not return to Marmes until 1962.

Daugherty and his crew set up that summer of

Farmer Roland Marmes  
bulldozed the original  
trench leading into the  
Marmes rockshelter.







The entrance to the Marmes rockshelter before completion of Lower Monumental Dam.

1962 at the mouth of the Palouse River to excavate the Palus Indian village site, the most prominent village of the river's most prominent Indians. "We had a few years to dig, more than 80 known sites, and little money," Daugherty remembered of those days. "You know you are going to miss some sites. You just hope you select the right ones. I decided to work the Palus village site. As we were setting up camp at the village, I remembered Marmes, just upstream, and took some people to do some test excavation. We started getting some interesting stuff."

Indeed, they found so much interesting stuff that Daugherty moved his crew from the village to the rockshelter, working it in the summers of 1963 and 1964. "I got hold of Fryxell and told him he had better take a look at this."

Daugherty, Fryxell, and crews dug in the rockshelter intermittently for three summers, finding dozens of artifacts and the remains of several humans. It was all valuable and interesting, but this

was a hectic time for Washington State University archaeologists. The Corps of Engineers had completed Ice Harbor Dam on the lower Snake river near Pasco in 1962. They would soon finish the next monolith upstream, Lower Monumental, and move on to build two additional dams as they brought slackwater to Lewiston. Daugherty knew dozens of lower Snake prehistoric sites deserving excavation before backwaters flooded them. He had small crews, little money, and less time. But Fryxell, intrigued by the potential to uncover a long geological record in the soft silt in front of the rockshelter, would fit Marmes into his busy schedule, giving it what time he had.

Roald Fryxell was a Renaissance man. In an era when most academics specialized in narrow topics, Fryxell took a broader view. Fryxell's imagination, the quest for knowledge that led him to dig the trench in front of Marmes Rockshelter, also earned him national respect. The Washington senate named him one of the state's "Distinguished



Citizens,” and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration selected him as one of the first scientists to examine soil from the moon. He applied techniques he developed at Marmes to handling those lunar core samples.

But all that lay in the future on that hot day in 1965 when Fryxell discovered bone fragments in the dust behind a bulldozer. Back at campus, he unloaded his find, placing it in the laboratory safe. It would be November before he would return to the site. Then he and Daugherty retraced his steps, dug a little deeper, and found more bone fragments. The dozer could not have tipped these into the ditch from higher ground; these came to lie there naturally. Given their depth—many feet below the ash line created by Mt. Mazama’s eruption that formed Oregon’s famed Crater Lake 6,700 years ago—these had to be ancient.

Back Daugherty and Fryxell went to the laboratory where Carl Gustafson studied their bones to determine if they were human. It took about a year and a half before Gustafson could give the fragments much attention, but he then announced they came from people.

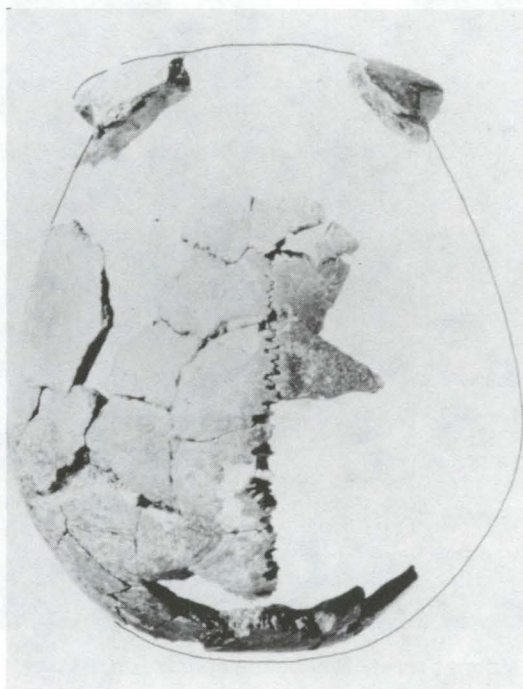
Finally in the spring of 1968, with Lower Monumental Dam nearing completion, its reservoir water about to flood the site, WSU turned its full attention to the Marmes Rockshelter. Crews dug during a wet spring and hot summer. They came across burial sites and artifacts, found bones of numerous individuals. They radio-carbon dated some and were stunned with the results: The human remains dated from 9,000 to 11,000 B.P. The problem was, while they now knew the site’s importance, Daugherty and Fryxell had just about run out of time and money. This is when Richard Daugherty began to exert the political and public relations

skills that are as much a part of his reputation as his archaeological knowledge.

“One day I called (Senator Warren) Magnuson’s secretary, told him about our ancient Marmes bones, and told him we needed \$80,000. He said, ‘Come back to Washington.’

“So we packed up one of the ‘Marmes Man’

skeletal remains, strapped them into an extra seat on the plane, and flew off.” When they landed, Magnuson arranged for a press conference in his office. Reporters snapped photos and fired questions as Fryxell and Daugherty unveiled the oldest documented human remains found in North America up to that time. That press conference touched a regional and national imagination. Perhaps no North American archaeological dig has attracted more public attention than would the upcoming work



Skull fragments of the Marmes man

at the Marmes Rockshelter. “Marmes Man” became front-page news in papers from coast to coast.

Not only were the Marmes bones old, they were also uniquely located. Overlying those ancient remains were layer upon layer of evidence of human use of the rockshelter, extending into the 20th century. Here was 10,000 years of human history, condensed into one small area, waiting to be uncovered, a discovery of extraordinary significance. As Hannah Marie Wormington, president of the Society of American Archaeologists said, “The odds against finding such a complete package of evidence within one site again are so great it is almost impossible.” The site, she said, “is like a calendar of the centuries.”

Warren Magnuson would pull strings with his old Senate colleague, President Lyndon Johnson. Johnson would, for the first time in American history, issue a presidential order that an archaeological site be protected. The National Park Service



would declare Marmes a national landmark. Fryxell, Daugherty, and their crews would unearth spectacular remains of nearly 30 individuals. A small community of groupies would form around the dig, sometimes more than a thousand spectators watching the archaeologists at work. Vendors would sell Marmes Man mugs and Marmes Man bumper stickers. And the Army Corps of Engineers would construct a levee to protect the site from the rising waters of Lower Monumental Dam — and the levee would fail, and the site would be flooded, and archaeologists and engineers and politicians would blame each other, and one of the West's most significant archaeological sites would wind up under 40 feet of water. But that was all in the future on that hot day in the summer of 1965 when Roald Fryxell found bone fragments lying in the dust behind Roland Marmes's bulldozer.

Roald Fryxell and Richard Daugherty generated national publicity at Marmes because they uncovered evidence in a debate dating back to the 15th century when Christopher Columbus thought he had discovered a New World, only to find others already living there. People began a long speculation about how and when Columbus's Indians had arrived.

At first, Europeans believed unknown pilots, perhaps ancient Carthaginians, had sailed the Atlantic and settled America. Next came the idea that the Continent of Atlantis had once connected Spain to the Americas. When it sank, so some people theorized, it stranded early colonizers in the New World. Then came a persistent belief that American Indians were part of the exiled Ten Lost Tribes of Hebrews who had spread over the world, somehow making it to the Western Hemisphere.

In 1589, A Jesuit missionary named Jose de Acosta wrote a remarkable book. Nearly 150 years before Vitus Bering sailed the Alaskan strait named for him, while Siberia was nothing but a blank spot on world maps, de Acosta speculated that Indians had not arrived by sea and had not crossed the Atlantic. Rather, "savage hunters driven from their

homelands by starvation or some other hardship" journeyed overland through Asia to America.

In 1856, Samuel Haven wrote *The Archaeology of the United States*, the most influential tract published on American archaeology at the time. The first Americans came from Asia, he firmly stated, having crossed the Bering Strait. Many still questioned the hypothesis, but by mid-19th century people increasingly believed Indians arrived first to the western coast of the Americas, not the eastern.

At first they thought these ancient settlers arrived by boat. Gradually, however, de Acosta's concept of people walking from the old world to the new gained adherents. If people walked, they needed something to walk on, and that something was Beringia, a piece of property connecting Siberia

and Alaska that was at times a thousand miles wide. It is popularly known as the Bering Land Bridge, though it really did not resemble a bridge at all. This was broad, level country with rolling hills, indistinct from the Siberian and Alaskan lands it connected.

Beringia lay exposed because glaciers trapped tremendous amounts of moisture. Less than 3 percent of the earth's water is salt-free, and most of that is locked in glaciers. Today's ice sheets hold so much water that, should they melt, oceans would rise 300 feet, covering places like Los Angeles and New York. Yet today's glaciers contain only a fraction of the water they held during the ice ages. During the last ice age, glaciers cleaved so much water that ocean levels shrank lower than 200 feet below today's water line. And Beringia appeared.

For much of the period from 10,000 to 25,000 years ago, ice caps held enough water that people could have walked from Asia to Alaska. At earlier times, during earlier ice ages, the land bridge also appeared. During one of these periods, tribes of hunters first followed herds of mammoth and other large game into Alaska. As glaciers melted, Beringia drowned, isolating the wanderers who then multiplied to conquer two continents.

Some archaeologists believe America's settling began early. Louis Leakey, famed hominid

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**If people walked, they  
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thing was Beringia....**

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hunter of Africa, once claimed a site in California showed evidence of human occupation over 200,000 years old. That would mean humans considerably unlike us had crossed the Arctic land bridge, a hypothesis most find unlikely since such primitive people probably could not adapt to harsh northern climates. Although some archaeologists think they have found evidence of human occupation of North and South American more than 40,000 years old, that record is sketchy.

By 35,000 years ago or so, modern homo sapiens evolved, and about 10,000 years after that Beringia lay exposed for its latest run as a land bridge. Most investigators agree that sometime during Beringia's last appearance, someone stepped onto Alaska and discovered a new world. Speculation runs high as to just when that momentous event occurred. But there were people in the new world by 13,000 years ago, and possibly considerably before then.

Beringia was broadest precisely when North American ice was thickest. Gigantic glaciers, the Laurentide in the east and the Cordilleran in the west, covered Canada with hundreds of feet of ice, blocking the southern migration of Beringian wanderers. However, interior portions of Alaska, a zone archaeologists refer to as the Alaskan Refuge, remained ice free, and here the Asian nomads lived and hunted.

Population grew, testing the Refuge's ability to provide sustenance. While population increased,

the great ice sheets receded. As ice melted, sea levels rose, inundating Beringia. The possibility of retreat to Asia eliminated, these early Americans, searching for food, found an ice-free corridor between the Laurentide and Cordilleran glaciers, a narrow, rugged passage through Canada. Although it was an uninviting journey across rocky barriers and raging rivers through an inhospitable land, the wanderers made it. Eventually some bands arrived at the southern Canadian border, looked out upon the plains abutting the Rocky Mountains, and proceeded on, in a remarkably short period of time, perhaps a little over 1,000 years, to settle places as distant as the Great Lakes and California, Mexico and Peru, Florida and Argentina. It was one of the great accomplishments in human history.

This is the generally accepted theory, although some archaeologists have different ideas about how and when people migrated south. But if these first Americans entered the United States through Canada's ice-free corridor, they had to arrive near either the east or west slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Archaeologists debate this point, too. Perhaps groups came to both sides almost simultaneously. But it is possible that the first person to see the United States crossed the Canadian border west of the Rockies, somewhere between eastern Washington and western Montana, just north of the Snake River.

From that point, other bands followed, chasing herds and livelihoods, moving east, west, and

The Marmes site archaeological team uncovering remains of an elk. Carbon dating determined that the fossilized bones were 10,000 years old, which linked them directly to the human remains.





south, populating the continents. And it is possible that some of these earliest Americans lived along the lower Snake River, a warm place with ample shelter and food. The cataclysmic Lake Missoula floods tore away any proof of settlement prior to the last flood about 12,000 years ago. But after that, people definitely inhabited the lower Snake, leaving behind evidence of the way they lived.

Once Washington State University archaeologists concentrated on Marmes in the spring of 1968, they quickly uncovered riches. They found a tiny, perfectly preserved, ancient sewing needle. They located weapons, hundreds of artifacts, and the bones of animals, and they could tell what these people ate and how they lived. And, of course, they uncovered human remains.

Each week brought provocative new evidence of early life in the Americas. They worked frantically but were running out of time. Lower Monumental Dam would soon flood their site.

They established a tent city and hired a bigger crew. They erected a mess hall and stretched electricity lines. They often worked from 6 a.m. to midnight, digging, sifting, cataloging. By August, archaeologists had removed 5,000 cubic yards of dirt, much of it with brushes and dental picks, and had screened nearly 200 tons of earth through small mesh. Yet they still discovered more rich cultural material daily. They needed more time. That is when Richard Daugherty asked his friend Warren Magnuson for help.

In midsummer, Daugherty and Fryxell had requested the Walla Walla District of the Corps of Engineers to build a dike around the Marmes site. But the Corps discarded the idea: It did not have the money or authority for such construction, it claimed.

Daugherty then approached Magnuson and the senator asked Congress for \$1.5 million to build a levee — this at a time when the entire federal budget for archaeological work nationwide was something on the order of a million dollars annually. The House of Representatives killed his proposal. Undeterred, Magnuson took his case directly to President Lyndon Johnson. No American president had ever ordered funding to preserve an archaeological site. Weeks passed. Late October ar-

rived with no presidential decision. The Corps pressed Magnuson to withdraw his request, but the senator refused. The Engineers then urged the President not to authorize levee construction. But on the last day of October, Johnson ordered the Corps to build a protective dike around the Marmes archaeological site.

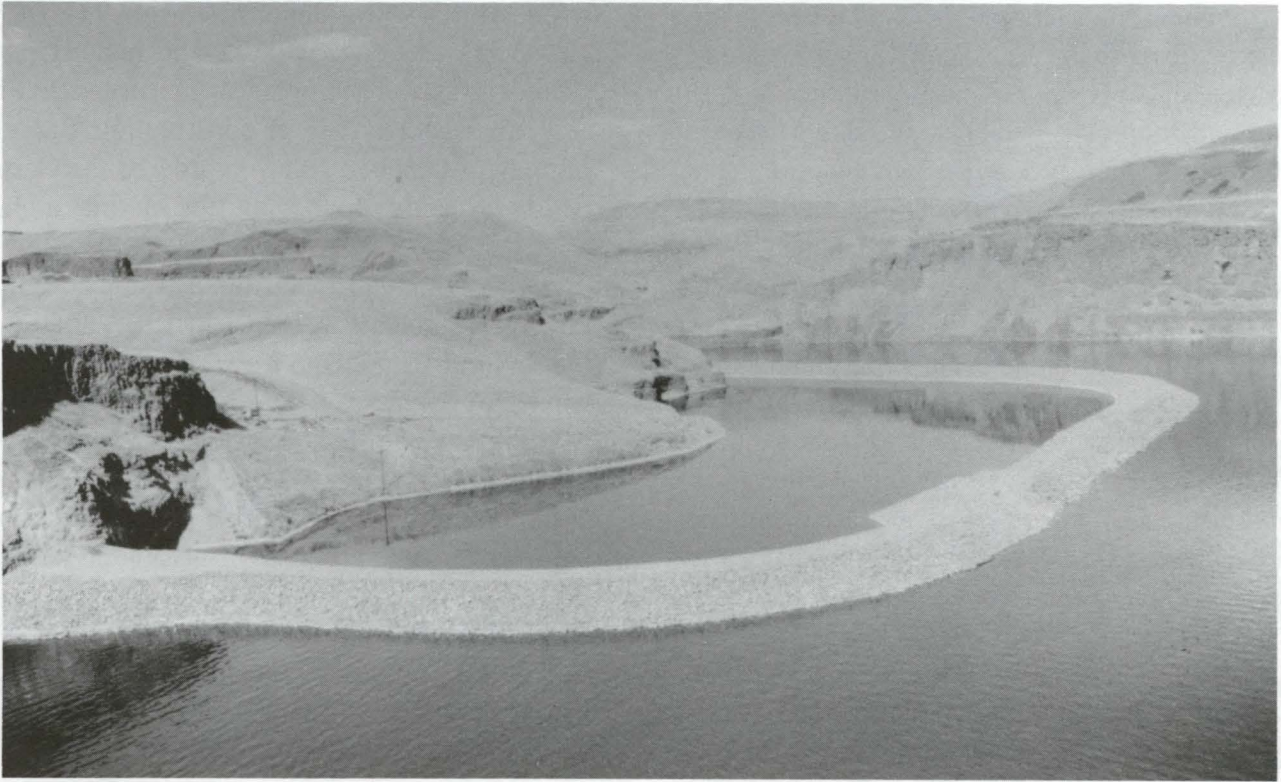
The Corps had hoped things would not come to this. The Engineers were in a difficult situation. To fish biologists, the date Lower Monumental Dam went into operation would be critical. After long negotiations with fishery agencies, the Corps had agreed to begin filling the reservoir by December 1968 to allow time to test fish-passage equipment before the annual spring runs. But Lyndon Johnson's order threw this schedule out of kilter, and fishery agencies protested.

There is a "potential fish passage crisis at Lower Monumental Dam," the Oregon State Game Commission wired Senator Mark Hatfield. "While we are in sympathy with archaeological investigations ... we have no alternative but to oppose this particular project as serious fish passage problems would very likely result," wrote the Idaho Fish and Game Department to Senator Frank Church.

Harry Drake, Walla Walla's engineering chief, didn't especially like the idea of building a levee either. But he never doubted the Corps could do it successfully. "The Chief of Engineers met me in a hotel room in Lewiston," he recalled, "and said, 'LBJ wants a dike, so have at it boys and don't worry about the cost.' We'd built these cofferdams all up the river and had good success, so I thought 'no sweat.'" But the Corps had no time to investigate intangibles like deep fissures that could spurt water behind the protective levee. It had its orders: Construct a dike and complete it by the end of February 1969, allowing a few weeks to test fish equipment before the spring runs.

On a cold, rainy November 2, more than 200 people gathered under umbrellas at the Marmes site to watch Magnuson turn the first spade of dirt for the levee. Representatives from the Smithsonian Institution and national archaeological societies attended. It was a good day with smiles and congratulations. But some Engineers had reservations about the proposed breakwater.





Marmes rockshelter underwater behind the levy, February 1970.

"We are concerned that this (levee) design may not fully protect the archaeological digging site," wrote the North Pacific Division's chief of engineering in an interdepartmental memo before work began. Rushed to meet their February deadline, the Corps did not have time to test levee alternatives. They never doubted the dike would hold. But water backed up by the dam could fill the levee from behind. The Corps recognized the problem and proposed to solve it by pumping the seepage back into the river, something they regularly did at cofferdams built to provide a dry work place for dam construction laborers. But the Engineers underestimated the amount of water that would gush in at Marmes. Their pumps never had a chance.

Levee construction continued through the winter, and the Engineers finished it on time. In February, the Corps began filling Lower Monumental's pool. As the impoundment reached the Marmes site, water roared into the levee from a fissure behind the dike, just as Fryxell and the Corps had predicted. Forty-five thousand gallons each minute. The Corps started their huge pumps, shooting streams of water over the dike. But it didn't take an

engineer to realize the pumps could never keep up.

The Corps opened Lower Monumental's flood gates, allowing workers to locate the problem at Marmes. They discovered a leak much greater than the Engineers had anticipated, and figured how to fix it. But to secure the site would take time, and the Corps had no time if the migrating salmon were to be saved. Marmes was doomed.

The Corps worked with Daugherty, Fryxell, and their team to protect the site. Crews covered the ground with giant sheets of plastic and poured truck loads of fill on top to prevent water from sloshing through and destroying the fragile stratigraphic record. Finally, the Corps ordered the site evacuated. They pulled their pumps. Archaeologists watched as 40 feet of water quickly covered one of North America's most valuable prehistoric sites.

For a while, the Corps contemplated "dewatering" Marmes, claiming all they needed was authorization and money — about \$3 million. Roald Fryxell gamely prophesied that he would one day climb back into the trench that had made him famous. But the authorization never came. Optimism turned to gloom and bitterness.



Fryxell blamed the Corps for not taking his advice and constructing a smaller dike, one more readily pumped. Following his lead, editorialists throughout the Northwest chastised the Engineers. "An abysmal failure to protect America's greatest archaeological treasure," claimed the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*; "A tragedy recognized throughout the Pacific Northwest and other parts of the world," wrote the *Spokane Spokesman-Review*.

The Corps, embarrassed, attempted to explain. While admitting they had underestimated the rate of seepage, they had based flow estimates upon the best available evidence. It would have been unsafe to construct the smaller dike Fryxell wanted.

However, in the popular mind, the Corps — America's dam builders — had bungled a simple job. And archaeologists lost an opportunity to unearth invaluable information. But they did learn a great deal at Marmes and at an impressive series of prehistoric locations all along the river. The National Park Service and the Corps spent thousands of dollars on archaeological investigations, a salvage operation yielding some of the most significant information ever uncovered about early life in the West. Marmes was the most publicized and probably the most significant of the lower Snake archaeological digs. But there were dozens of others — Strawberry Island, Alpowa, Seed Cave, Davis Bar, Windust Caves, Thorn Thicket, Wawawai, Squirt Cave, Granite Point, Three Springs Bar — and from materials uncovered at these, archaeologists have pieced together the story of early people along the lower Snake River.

They divide life here into five phases. The earliest, dating from about 10000 to 8000 B.P., is the Windust. The Cascade phase runs from about 8000 to 4500 B.P. and the Tucannon from 4500 to 2500 B.P. The Harder phase takes life up to about the year A.D. 1750 and the Numipu postdates 1750.

The lower Snake canyon today is inhospitable — scrabby rattlesnake country. But this land looked different 8,000 to 10,000 years ago, during the archaeological Windust phase. In those days, this

was cool country. Fryxell's team found the jawbone of an Arctic fox inside the Marmes rockshelter. Residents didn't travel to the Arctic to catch it. Flood plain vegetation more resembled a tundra then today's desert. Nearby north slopes and river banks probably held wooded patches, for archaeologists also found the remains of red fox and pine marten, animals of the forest.

Life had rhythms for ancient river dwellers; survival dictated that. During early spring, people fished and gathered roots on flat land near the river and the plains above. Later they picked berries on

wooded hillsides. Then came summer hunting on the uplands. Fall found people back at the river catching salmon. Mobile during much of the year, the river people concentrated in winter along the warm stream banks in and around rockshelters. Not all activity stopped. They probably harvested river mussels during cold months when water levels dropped and certainly

hunted game that wandered to the river banks. But winter generally provided a time of resting for the upcoming gathering seasons.

We sometimes stereotype these early people as big-game hunters. Those along the lower Snake did stalk big animals. They fabricated razor-sharp blades and hunted deer, antelope, and elk, driving animals past hunters lying in ambush who threw spears with atlatls, devices that, in essence, extended a spear-thrower's arm, enabling him to hurl projectiles twice as far and with greater force than when throwing unassisted. The earliest residents domesticated dogs, and these probably helped hunters track game. These settlers might have also trapped big game in man-made, camouflaged pits. They ate meat fresh or prepared it for winter storage, fashioned hides into clothes, and cracked animal bones to expose nutritious marrow.

Archaeological evidence indicates that these earliest Snake River inhabitants relied more on big game than fish. But fish bones don't preserve well, and there is no reason not to believe that salmon also formed a significant part of their diet. For the salmon were abundant in the river by then.

Pacific salmon, anadromous fish that are born

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**They divide life here  
into five phases ...  
dating from about  
10000 to 8000 B.P.**

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in freshwater, spend most of their lives at sea, and return to freshwater to spawn and die, came to inhabit virtually every river and creek from California to Alaska. The Snake system, with its associated tributaries, became one of western America's most important salmon-producing streams. Archaeological evidence uncovered so far indicates that the earliest river dwellers had not yet developed the technology to harvest the fish en masse as later residents did. But they no doubt took substantial numbers with spears and apparently trapped some in weirs. Eventually, salmon would provide a nutritional food bank for people of the lower Snake, nature making deposits every year and humans withdrawing to meet their needs.

The river people came to depend upon salmon, and bad runs could bring disaster. But the runs were normally good, providing a reliable food source. Indeed, salmon were to the people of the Snake what buffalo became to residents of the Plains. But salmon were, if anything, even more important, more easily caught, and more abundant. No wonder the people of the lower Snake developed elaborate rituals and feasts dedicated to the fish, rituals continued into the 20th century. The ceremonies thanked the fish for returning and sacrificing themselves for the people.

Blessed with a prolific food supply, these ancient river inhabitants developed a sophisticated lifestyle. They carved finely crafted bone needles as small as modern embroidery needles. They stitched skin clothing. They sewed waterproof bags, allowing them to transport drinking and cooking water from the river. They split crushing, chopping, and scraping tools from basalt slabs and fabricated delicate blades from crystalline rocks, blades sharper than modern surgical scalpels, chipped with skilled and practiced hands. They developed a trade network with neighboring peoples and treasured the tiny seashells they bartered for, seashells from an ocean 400 miles away.

Small groups of people, perhaps two or three families, lived in the Marmes Rockshelter, at Windust Caves, and at other ancient sites along the

lower Snake. Occupying these primarily during winter, they had time to speculate on life and death as they ate well from the year's gathered supplies. Indeed, they had considerable leisure time, their entire surroundings serving as a vegetable garden and feedlot. Theirs was not an unremitting struggle to survive, and during leisure hours they developed rituals and refined religion. The residents of Marmes, for example, cremated their dead, perhaps as a way of preparing them for their next life. Daugherty and Fryxell unearthed at Marmes the oldest evidence of cremation ever found in North America.

Over thousands of years, life gradually changed for the river's inhabitants. They moved out of caves and rockshelters into semi-subterranean pithouses. They replaced atlatls with bows and arrows. They grew more adept at catching salmon, weaving nets to capture the fish and using lines and sinkers. Life took a dramatic change somewhere in the early 18th century when horses migrated to the region.

Of the lower Snake River's five phases of Indian life, the last, the Numipu, is the shortest, a little over 150 years, a period in which the river's native people rapidly reached their ultimate technological development and just as quickly declined, decimated by white diseases, chased from most of their homes by white settlers. That era began with horses.

Traffic went both ways on the Bering Land Bridge. People came to the Americas, but the Americas boasted at least one significant export: The horse. Thousands of years ago, horses roamed the American prairies. But they died out — all, that is, except the ones making their way over the land bridge to Asia. Once in the Old World, domesticated horses became the most important means of transportation in Asia and Europe. Conquering Spaniards reintroduced horses to the Western Hemisphere. Some escaped onto the plains of North America and multiplied. Southwest Indians traded these to nomadic tribes in the north. The horse culture spread quickly; by the early 1700s, the Nez Perce probably owned some.

Nez Perce tradition says the tribe's first horse

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**...these ancient  
river inhabitants  
developed a  
sophisticated  
lifestyle**

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was a white mare heavy with foal purchased from the Shoshone, the Nez Perce's southern neighbors and rivals. The mare lived in a village along the lower Snake at the mouth of Asotin Creek, and that horse and her colt spawned the thousands of horses the Nez Perce tribe eventually owned. Probably within a generation of obtaining their first horse or horses, the Nez Perce learned how to use them, and with that knowledge came a dramatic lifestyle change. First the horses served as pack animals, replacing dogs with their greater carrying power. Then Nez Perce learned to ride. Once they acquired this skill, the Nez Perce and their Palouse Indian neighbors became masters of horsemanship.

Thousands of horses thrived on the rich grasslands of the lower Snake country, protected from harsh winters and isolated from natural predators. The Nez Perce and Palouse counted their wealth in horses, and they were wealthy indeed. Perhaps alone among the Indian peoples of North America, the Nez Perce and Palouse practiced selective breeding. They castrated poorer stallions and traded inferior stock to neighboring tribes, breeding for stamina and speed.

Small bands of Nez Perce wanderers, who had previously ventured across the Bitterroot Mountains on foot to hunt buffalo, now took to riding horses, enabling them to travel farther and carry home more dried meat and hides for clothing and shelter. Instead of sending a few foot travelers, whole villages now crossed the Lolo and other trails. They also could now more easily travel to multi-tribal fishing grounds, such as as The Dalles along the Columbia.

Horses took Snake River people to the plains above the river to gather roots and grains, and to hunt deer and antelope. The horse brought other changes. Snake River residents now could construct larger pithouses because they could drag larger poles to the river. Increased mobility introduced Snake inhabitants to other lifestyles. The borrowed the concept of the tipi from Plains Indians, developed a more elaborate system of con-

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**Salmon, more than anything else, tied the horse people of historic times to the ancients of the Marmes Rockshelter.**

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structing graves, and acquired new tools.

Obtaining horses changed lower Snake lifestyles, but patterns established over thousands of years continued. The horses just made life easier and distances shorter. During spring, summer, and fall, the river people hunted and gathered from temporary villages on the plateaus. Since they could now travel farther, diets became more diverse. They ate rabbit, deer, elk, bear, antelope, buffalo. Men hunted the larger animals while women and children trapped the smaller. While men hunted, women gathered roots, berries, nuts, and seeds, particularly kouse and camas roots dug with sharpened sticks.

Despite the ability to travel more widely, salmon remained a staple food. Through more than 10,000 years of human settlement, the lower Snake had gone from tundra cool to a lush period when the river banks supported a rich diversity of plant and animal life, to a dry desert-like climate. Through it all, people relied on salmon. Salmon, more than anything else, tied the horse people of historic times to the ancients of the Marmes Rockshelter. Salmon were the region's constant.

Each spring — and to a lesser degree during the summer and fall — the river filled with salmon making their way from the Pacific to spawning beds. The Indians of the lower Snake waited expectantly for the first sign of their arrival, then caught hordes. They built rock and driftwood platforms from shorelines, or splashed into rapids and speared or netted the struggling fish. They built weirs of willow brush and poles lashed together and anchored with stones. They caught some with hooks and lines. What fish they did not eat immediately they split open, cleaned, and dried on wooden racks in the sun, or smoked and stored for winter use.

Archaeologists are not quite sure how direct the lineage is between the Nez Perce, Palouse, and other river inhabitants of historic times and the ancients who occupied sites like Marmes. There is no doubt that the Nez Perce speak a tongue stemming from one of the oldest-known language stocks in North America. It could be that the earliest



residents to settle this region, those evacuees of the Alaska Refuge so many thousands of years ago, are distant relatives of the river people encountered by the whites. Later arrivals may have also appeared along the lower Snake. After ages of unions and divisions, these may have developed into the river people of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries.

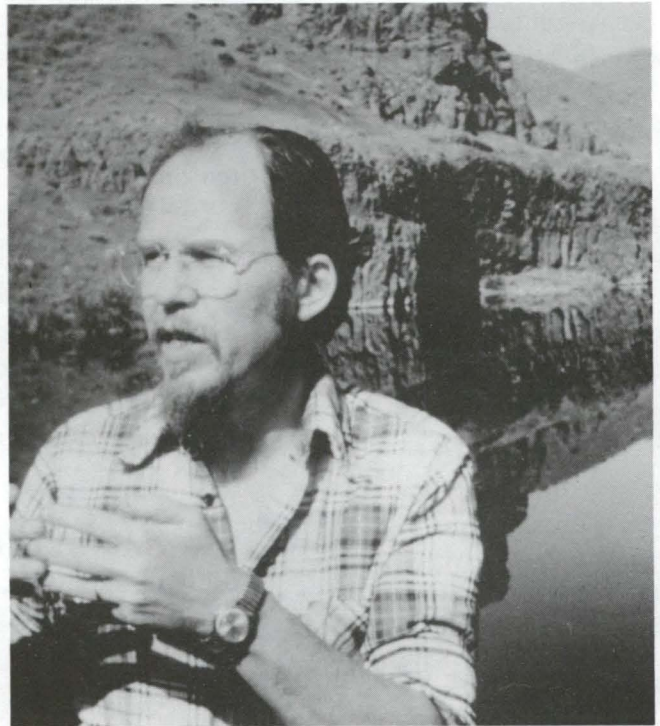
What is clear, however, is that throughout this long period of settlement, people of the lower Snake depended on salmon. By the late 20th century, the Nez Perce Indians no longer relied on dwindling salmon runs for primary sustenance, but the salmon still held religious and spiritual significance, a reminder of a way of life along the river for hundreds of generations. When dams came to threaten the salmon's existence, the Nez Perce and other Idaho Indians would become vocal and significant players in efforts to preserve the ancient runs.

Ten thousand years after a wandering band found home in a rockshelter near the confluence of the Palouse and Snake rivers, Roland and Joanne Marmes farmed the land surrounding it, raising cattle and irrigating crops. Then the Corps of Engineers condemned part of their property and the Marmes family moved their home to higher ground. Then the state highway department condemned more of their property to make way for an access road to a new state park, and the Marmes family moved their house again. Then the Corps of Engineers condemned their house because it now sat along a proposed recreational trail that would tour hikers through the region's rich geologic and archaeologic history. The family finally moved completely off the land they had farmed for years.

"We didn't make any money from the well-publicized Marmes excavation," Joanne Marmes reflected. "We just went down in history, and you can't send two kids to college on that."

During the course of all the moves, Roland and Joanne Marmes divorced, and Joanne's brother, who ranched just upstream on land the Corps also condemned, committed suicide. "He was just never happy after he got off the ranch," she said.

Roald Fryxell wasn't happy either, the way things turned out. But he stayed at Washington



Roald Fryxell

State University, hoping once again to find the spark that had so stimulated him at Marmes, that had launched a career that seemed destined for brilliance. He turned to Lind Coulee, the place where his mentor, Richard Daugherty, had first discovered evidence of ancient life in the Northwest as a young archaeologist not long after World War II. Fryxell hoped to use some of the sophisticated techniques he and Daugherty had developed at Marmes to uncover even more information at Lind Coulee. He pushed himself, traveling the lonely eastern Washington highways at ungodly hours, trying to fit archaeological excavation into a demanding teaching load. Lind Coulee finally killed him. On May 18, 1974, while driving home to Pullman in a borrowed Volkswagen with no seat belts, Fryxell fell asleep. His car jumped a ditch and rolled twice. Roald Fryxell, age 40, died instantly. He was only 31 years old on that hot summer day in 1965 when he walked behind Roland Marmes' bulldozer and discovered America's oldest human remains. Both men's lives changed dramatically from that point. And the world came to know a little more about America's first settlers. But the site Marmes and Fryxell worked now lies under 40 feet of water, the Corps-built levee retaining quiet water



resembling a reflecting pool. The road Fryxell traveled so many times to dig this site is closed to the public; you can only get there by water. Occasionally boats pull up to the levee and their occupants try a little crappie fishing, oblivious to the excitement this piece of property witnessed in the 1960s.

Marmes perhaps holds more secrets. In the 1970s, contractors for the National Park Service dived into the pool and found the site pretty much as Fryxell and Daugherty had left it. It still might hold fragments of a puzzle that future archaeologists will uncover, parts that will help to explain more about the earliest residents of the lower Snake — the ancients.

## Bibliographical Notes

Much of the information for this article came in personal interviews with some of the participants, and in records of the Corps of Engineers at the National Archives, at the Federal Archives and Records Center in Seattle, and at the Walla Walla District Corps offices. Other sources, however, are more accessible — and many are very enjoyable to read.

For the ancient settling of the Americas and Beringia see especially Brian M. Fagan, *The Great Journey: The Peopling of Ancient America* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987). Also helpful, but more technical, are Alan Lyle Bryan, ed., *Early Man in America From a Circum-Pacific Perspective*, Occasional Papers No. 1 of the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta (Edmonton: Archaeological Researches International, 1978); David M. Hopkins, ed., *The Bering Land Bridge* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967); Frederick Hadleigh West, *The Archaeology of Beringia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Jesse D. Jennings, ed., *Ancient Native Americans* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1978) Richard Shutler, Jr., ed., *Early Man in the New World* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983); and L. S. Cressman, *Prehistory of the Far West: Homes of Vanished Peoples* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1977).

For details on the excitement of the Marmes dig see Ruth Kirk's book for juveniles (but a fun read for anyone), *The Oldest Man in America: An Adventure in Archaeology* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1970). Also helpful is Kirk and Richard Daugherty,

*Discovering Washington Archaeology* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), esp. pp. 34-37; Martin P. Works, "Throwing Cold Water on Marmes Man," *Esquire* 73:1 (Jan. 1970), pp. 59-64; and Gerald H. Grosso, "Cave Life on the Palouse," *Natural History* 72:2 (Feb. 1967), pp. 38-43.

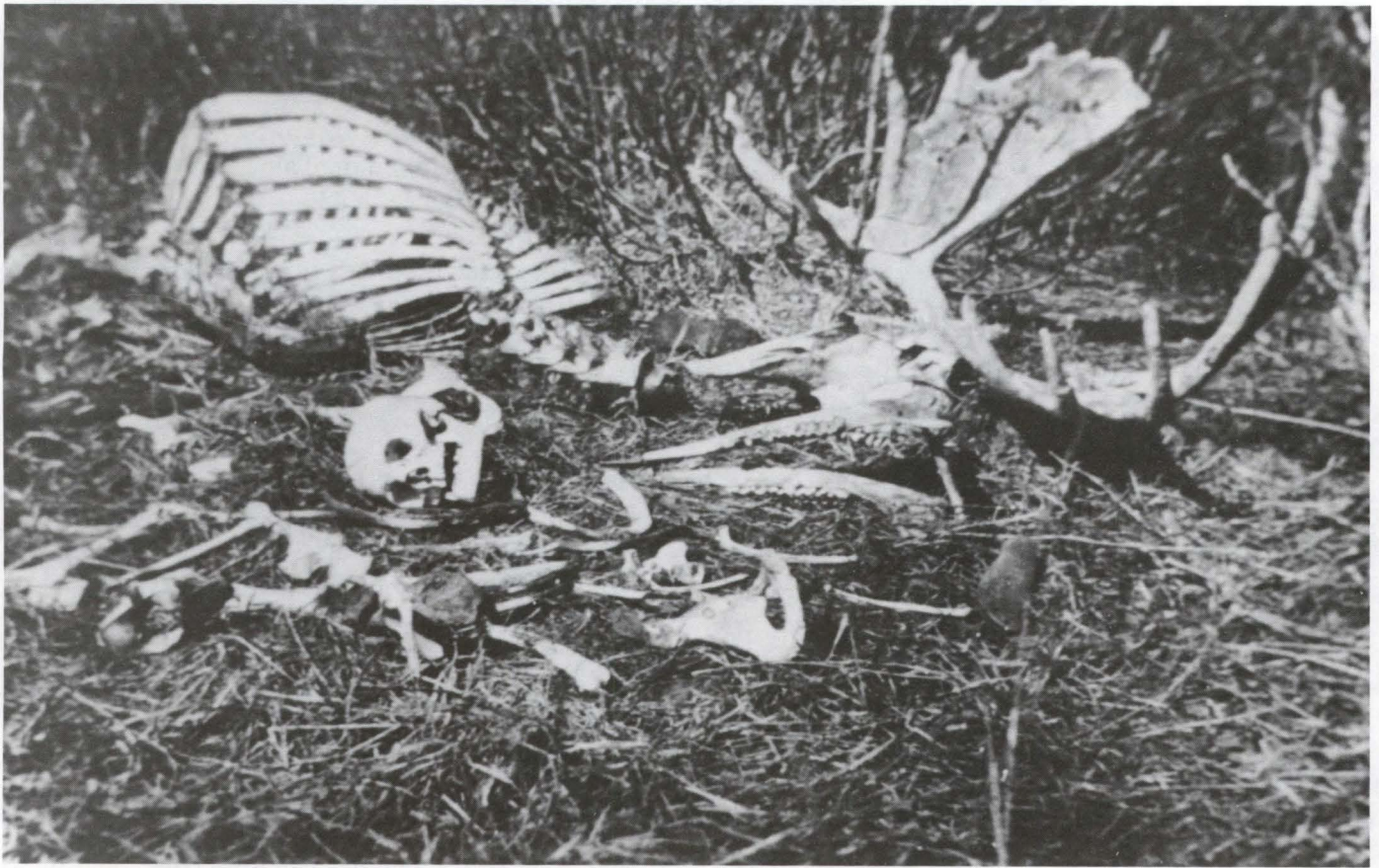
The literature on early lifestyles along the Snake is quite technical and comes in the form of theses, dissertations, and project reports, most of which are available at the Washington State University and University of Idaho libraries.

For horses among lower Snake Indians, see Francis Haines, *The Nez Perces: Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, reprint, 1975), pp. 17-25; and Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 27-30, 648-649. Contrary to popular myth, there is no evidence the Nez Perce or Palouse bred their horses for spots. Nez Perce and Palouse tribes did have spotted horses — which became known as Appaloosas, supposedly a condensation of the phrase "a Palouse horse." But spotted horses were known in other cultures dating back well before the Nez Perce and Palouse people, and these Snake River residents had horses with a wide diversity of coloring.

The Nez Perce and Palouse were shrewd and skilled horse breeders. They depended on horses with speed, stamina, and strength. If a strong horse happened to have spots, fine. But to claim these people bred for pretty spots perpetuates a stereotype about their simplicity similar to the one that ridicules native people for trading away riches for pretty beads. Both are myths developed for the convenience of whites and have their origins in half-truths at best. For more on the controversy about Appaloosas, see an outstanding discussion of the issue in Nella Peterson, "What is an Appaloosa," *Appaloosa Journal* (Oct. 1990), pp. 46-53, where Alvin Josephy effectively debunks the myth and explains how it got started in the first place.

For the Snake River peoples in the Numipu phase, see Josephy, *The Nez Perce*, and Clifford E. Trafzer and Richard D. Scheuerman, *Renegade Tribe: The Palouse Indians and the Invasion of the Inland Pacific Northwest* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1986). In addition there are, again, several good theses and technical reports available on this period at the University of Idaho and Washington State University libraries.





*A moose and a human skeleton lie together in a remote forest. There is this photograph to show it. A single-shot Springfield with an expended cartridge in the chamber was found in the brush a little beyond the skeletal remains. This is a story about the photograph and the mystery that surrounds it.*

*A small amount of information from the site where the skeletons were seen completes what is known about the tragedy. Nothing is known of who the person might have been. The location is not known other than "Pot Mountain in the North Fork country of the Clearwater River." This area, wild then and still quite wild today, is in Clearwater County roughly 40 miles east of the Latah County line, also some 40 miles northeast of Orofino. Neither the picture nor story are my own. I pass them on now because their nature, the story they seem to hold, justifies attention and preservation.*

*The picture was brought by Allen Woolsey, a former resident of the Bovill area, perhaps 15 or 16 years ago to one of the Bovill picnics held annually each July. Along with a collection of photographs, family pictures for the most part, it was, as I*

*remember, in an old album that Woolsey showed to all who cared to see it. There were annotations with many of the pictures. Woolsey briefly told me the story of the skeletons. He was good enough, also, to allow me to make copy negatives of the skeleton picture, also of several others that I wanted for an album I keep of history-related photos. Interested especially in the skeleton picture, I took brief notes.*

*Through recent communication with Allen Woolsey's wife, Bertha, who lives in Coeur d'Alene, I have learned that Allen is now dead. More about Allen and his family will be told later — notably, some of the family information, also other things (about schools, guns, investigative detail) that are unrelated or only distantly related to the theme of the skeletons, but do bear on the history of the time.*

*Tom Farbo of Orofino, a Forest Service retiree, historian, and author contributed very importantly to the investigations necessary to complete this story, as written. Mentions of his many contributions are made within the text, and he has my special thanks.*

*John B. Miller*

LATAH LEGACY



## Moose and human remains

# Evidence of a Tragedy

John B. Miller

### The Skeletons

It was during an outing along the North Fork of the Clearwater that Daniel Woolsey and his son Allen, traveling together, discovered the skeletons. The year, as Allen remembered, was 1920. They came upon the skeletons — partial remains of a man and a moose, looked the scene over, and took the picture. A few feet away lay a .45-70 calibre rifle, a Springfield trap-door model (a single-shot gun) with an expended cartridge in the chamber. They scraped rust from the barrel to reveal a factory (model) date: 1873. The place was defined simply as "Pot Mountain." The mountain includes a long ridge and a broad westward slope, a big area (see map).

I did not ask for any specifics as to location. However, having read Spencer's great book about the 1910 forest fires and realizing that Pot Mountain area was involved in the fires, I asked if the area where the skeletons lay had been burned. Allen said he remembered standing trees and timber in the area, but said the immediate site and the visible hill slope above it was mostly brush, and he believed it was a fireburn area.

In the picture, the moose skeleton lies toward the rear and the right, the human remains mostly toward the center and left. I believe Allen said the moose appeared to have been coming down hill, toward the camera position — a fact one might guess from the picture. The slope, judging from the picture, is probably not steep.

The rib-cage of the moose is fairly intact. Adjoining it, several vertebrae, still articulated,

appear as part of the neck structure. The moose skull and antlers and a lower jaw bone lie farther to the right. Well to the left, toward the bottom of the picture, indistinct and partly concealed, are other unidentifiable bones possibly from the moose. One combination of objects resembles a hoof and leg bone, but seem small. Some objects in this group might be wood and leaf debris.

Prominent among the human remains is the skull, which is at the left center. Several other human bones can be recognized. The pelvis and several ribs are clustered in the lower, central part of the picture. To the left are several limb bones. One (forward location) is probably from the upper arm; the large bone only partly within the picture at the left margin is probably a thighbone, possibly with shinbone (leading toward the skull) still attached. Forward and to the left of the skull are two bones that could be human vertebrae.

The skeletons lie amid broken brush, probably crushed by the fallen bodies. Vegetation beneath decomposing flesh generally dies. Much of the debris around the skeletons appears to be dead stems of bushes similar to the brush visible in the background. The remains without doubt would have been ravaged by scavengers such as ravens and coyotes. Some of the skeletal material would have been moved; some probably carried away.

Strangely there are no items of clothing visible, at least nothing that can be identified. Several dark objects, including one shaped a bit like the sole of a shoe, could relate to clothing. Clothing could be





From the Woolsey album and dated 1912 is this rare photo of Slabtown. This community, located about a mile north of Bovill, was largely destroyed by the Beal's Butte forest fire of 1914. This picture was taken from a hill about 300 yards southwest of the Camp 8 shops. In the foreground is the Milwaukee rail line leading into Bovill. The West Fork of the Potlatch flows under the bridge in right center. Slabtown was served also by a narrow dirt road that went from Bovill northward to Collins and Clarkia.

shredded and dragged away by predators. Woolsey said something about clothing, but I cannot remember what it was, and took no notes relative to it. I seem to recall mention of a brass buckle.

The stark bareness of the bones and apparent absence of flesh is evidence the skeletons have lain there for a long time — almost certainly through a winter and possibly even two winters. The considerable integrity of the ribcage and several neck bones indicates some of the tough, durable ligament tissue remained, however. The evidence seems to limit time since the deaths of man and moose to no more than about two years.

### The Rifle

The Springfield .45-70 trap-door model rifle, although hardly a popular gun, remained in fairly common use during the early years of this century.

Spencer (1), in early chapters of her book, names this firearm as the gun usually carried, in a saddle scabbard, by early rangers of the U.S. Forest Service. As late as 1920, my brother Marvin purchased a carbine model through a gun dealer's magazine.

The rifle has a long and interesting history. It originated as a muzzle-loading rifle widely used by Union troops during the Civil War. It took a paper powder-cartridge, rammed down the barrel and burst at the bottom by pressure. A lead bullet completed the charge. To fire the gun, the side-mounted hammer struck a percussion cap which was placed over the anvil of a primer-port. The *Encyclopedia of Firearms* (2) says:

*The end of the Civil War found the government with hundreds of thousands of obsolescent, if not obsolete, muzzle-loaders on hand. Many of these*

The Woolsey family and friends on the way to town from Moose Meadows. On the front seat are Daniel Woolsey, the father; an unidentified man (black hat), and Allen (hand to face, plaid cap). Lucy Woolsey, the mother, is in the next row, beside an unidentified woman in the white blouse. The next couple are not identified; Allen's two older sisters, Stella and Agnes, are in white dresses in the back of the wagon. The location is probably east of old Camp 7; the year, possibly 1915 or 1916. The hillside, with its burnt snags and other evidence of fire, was within the area of the 1914 Beal's Butte fire.





were converted to breechloaders under the direction of Erskine S. Allen, the Armory master-armorer. His trap-door system served, with minor improvements, until 1892 as a rugged, dependable, single-shot black-powder arm, well known as the Springfield .45-70. With the invention of smokeless powder, the Armory in 1882 undertook the production of a slightly modified Danish magazine arm, the Krag-Jorgenson, which lasted until 1893.

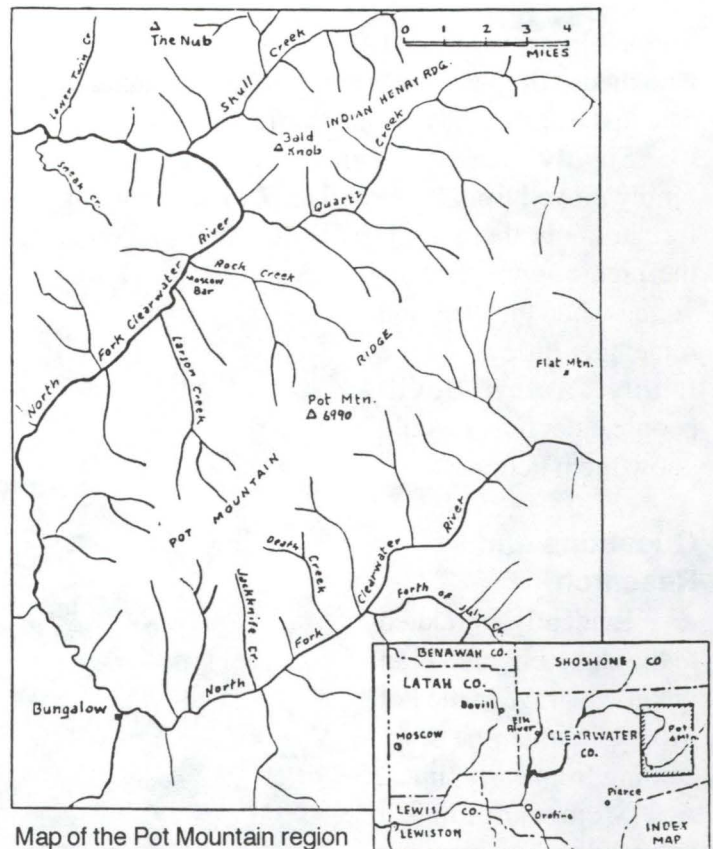
The Krag-Jorgenson was a bolt-action gun. It used .30-40 cartridges, loaded loose into a hinged, side-mounted basket-type magazine. My brother also owned one of these, purchased in the early 1930s. The Krag-Jorgenson was replaced by a clip-loading modified Mauser-patent rifle, the Springfield .30-06 used during World War I.

The Encyclopedia quotation implies that the 1883 model .45-70 rifle found with the skeletons and indeed all of the trap-door Springfield .45-70s were converted Civil War guns.

The conversion of muzzle-loaders into breach-loading guns required milling the breach to accept the trap-door mechanism, and milling the chamber to accept a brass cartridge. To fire the gun, the hammer, perhaps modified but still side-mounted, struck a firing pin located in the breach mechanism instead of striking the older-style percussion cap.

According to my father, W.S. Miller (a former Bovill resident), the Springfield .45-70 was used exclusively by volunteer troops in the Spanish American War, including the Rough Riders under "Teddy" Roosevelt. My father knew of this since he was with the U.S. Army at San Juan Hill. Seemingly the Rough Riders got into some trouble, not because of the characteristics of the gun, but because the loads were still made with black powder. So much battlefield smoke was generated that the Rough Riders, half surrounding a contingent of Spanish troops, found themselves firing across the field into their own ranks after the Spanish had withdrawn. This story in no way detracts from the valor of the Rough Riders. In a way, in fact, it enhances it, because they fought under a handicap.

My brother's .45-70 ammunition, and perhaps all such ammunition sold for civilian use in this century, was loaded with smokeless powder.



Map of the Pot Mountain region

## The Woolseys

The Woolsey family, early residents of the Bovill area, lived on Moose Meadow about three and a half miles northwest of town. The Boyce family (Tom Boyce, as I recall the name) lived another half-mile upstream westward. A family named Burke for a time occupied one of the log buildings remaining from old Camp 7, a former Potlatch logging camp located a mile and a half below the Woolseys, toward town.

The Boyce and Woolsey children had a 7 or 8 mile roundtrip walk or horseback ride to attend school in Bovill. In early times, some of the youngsters of both families may have gone to school at Camp 8. This would have saved little in terms of distance, but might have been an easier trip during heavy winter snows. It certainly would have been easier in springtime, when the wide meadow west of Bovill generally became badly flooded.

From 1916 to 1918, Allen Woolsey appears to be the only member of either family shown in Bovill school photographs. Allen was a member of the first Bovill High School graduating class in 1919. Four of the Boyce youngsters attended the Bovill schools



beginning perhaps about 1918. They were Raymond, who died shortly before his high school graduation date in the early 1920s, Kate, Bernice, and Richard.

Shortly after Allen's graduation, the Woolsey family moved from the Bovill area. I knew nothing further about them until my contact with Allen at the picnic more than half a century later. I was young when they left and remember little about the family. A few Bovill people older than I would know them better.

### Questions and Research

Evidently unrelated to the skeletons also is an unknown grave in the Pot Mountain area, the story coming from early times. A "Memorandum to Files" by Thomas N. Schenarts, District Ranger, D-2, dated 10-26-66 at Orofino, includes an item entitled Unknown Grave Above Jackknife (sic) Meadows. Schenarts wrote, *I have looked for this grave in the small saddle where the Jackknife Trail and the Pot Mountain Trail meet.* His further comments consider the possibility that a mound of earth found there is not a grave site but only some earth moved during trail construction. In a later memorandum (2-4-67), Schenarts wrote:

*I previously reported that I thought I had found a mound which could be an old grave that is located at the present junction of the Pot Mountain trail and Jackknife Creek trail. However, an old map dated 1915 that was made for land classification on the Clearwater National Forest shows that the original Pot Mountain and Jackknife trails are in a different location than now exists. In my discussion with Ralph Space, the expert on the history of this area, we believe that the grave is somewhere near*

*the head of Death Creek, or a small saddle in the NE corner of section 27, T39N, R8E, where the old Pot Mountain trail and existing Pot Mountain trail join.*

Whatever the origin of the "unknown grave," it seems not to be associated with the Woolsey item. The background circumstances appear to relate to earlier years and include references to early trails,

even the location of historic Indian trails; changes in trail location, and even the search for the hard-to-find Sprague cabin. Jack Sprague had drowned while attempting to cross the Clearwater River on a raft. Schenarts told of an oldtimer who had known Sprague. Years after Sprague died, this man had thought about a muzzle-loading pistol Sprague had generally kept beneath his bed. He searched for the Sprague cabin, believing the pistol might be there, but could not find the cabin. He thought it had burned down. In another memo (11-30-67), Schenarts tells of a helicopter search that finally found the

cabin site. The cabin had not burned; it had simply been collapsed by snow. *All that remains,* Schenarts' memo says, *is an earth mound around 8 x 9 feet and 1 or 2 feet high. There are trees growing on the mound. (Some of) the original logs are plainly visible including ridge-pole and roof supports.* Cooking utensils and bottles were found but no pistol. Schenarts believed Sprague probably had the pistol with him when he drowned.

These stories show not only how difficult it is to trace leads on historical events but how quickly and effectively the woods may hide the evidence of man's presence.

Yvonne Lewis has talked with a number of people in Bovill who might have seen the photo and



Allen Woolsey (driving) and his father with a truck load of lumber that they were hauling to Kendrick, probably 1919 or 1920.



This photo provided important evidence that helped trace the Woolsey family, after they left Bovill, to an association with lumber affairs and the Judd family in the Fraser area, Clearwater County. The driver of this team is identified as Lawrence Judd, father of Claud Judd of Fraser. As is apparent in this copy, the original photo has been badly damaged.



especially several who knew Allen Woolsey. Julius Crane remembers Allen's presence at the Bovill picnic, but not the album of pictures. Nobody was found who remembers seeing the pictures.

It was Yvonne who discovered, while searching through an old telephone book, the name Allen Woolsey and a Coeur d'Alene address. I wrote a letter hoping to find him. An answer came from Bertha Woolsey and proved both sad and disappointing. She explained that she was Allen's widow, and that he had been dead since 1982. She said she could not find the picture I described to her, and could not recall ever seeing it.

Tom Farbo, after reviewing the information and pictures I had, asked if the Woolseys had reported the skeletons and if they had buried the remains. I did not attempt to get such information. Farbo probed possible sources of information, going through files both of Orofino and Lewiston papers for the years 1918 through 1920 for items about missing people or other things pertinent to the subject. He inquired among people and made inquiry at the Fish and Game Department in Lewiston, all without result. In a conversation on December 18, 1993, he said "trails (to the mystery) seem to be disappearing," but we soon discovered the investigations were not yet done.

One of the photographs I had copied at the Bovill picnic was of a wagonload of lumber with the notation, "hailed from Fraser mill down Greer grade to Greer by \_\_\_\_\_ Judd, an uncle of (1960?) legislator \_\_\_\_\_ Judd." Was this photo obtained from Woolsey? There it was on the film strip,

among the others, middle position! Another picture also showed the Woolseys as dealing in lumber: Allen, his father and a truck: "First load of lumber into Kendrick." Considered together, the pictures suggested a possible association with the Judds and the Fraser mill. Fraser is in Clearwater County, by road some 18 or 20 miles southeast of Orofino.

It was easier to reach the Pot Mountain area from Fraser than from Bovill. Most of the journey could be made by truck, albeit beyond Pierce over narrow and very rough forest roads. Had the trip started from Bovill, as I had supposed, all travel beyond the town of Elk River, at the time, would have been on forest trails. Pack animals would have been needed for heavy or bulky equipment.

Once again, Tom Farbo was able to help. Farbo said the Idaho legislator in the 1960s and 1970s was Claud Judd, whom he knew personally. A phone call to Judd, by Farbo, was all that was needed to identify the driver of the wagon as Lawrence Judd, the father, not the uncle, of Claud Judd. Fred Judd, Lawrence's father, had been an Idaho State Senator.

In questioning Claud Judd, Farbo learned that the Woolseys had moved to the Fraser area sometime around 1920 and were well remembered. Claud Judd had heard the story about the skeletons, although he was not acquainted with the photograph. Farbo then interviewed Floyd Myers of Orofino, somewhat a historian of the area, now 92 years of age, who had also heard the story of the skeletons.

Allen Woolsey was married to Bertha Johnson of Fraser in 1925. Shortly after their marriage, the



two moved to St. Maries, then 4 years later to Coeur d'Alene. A visit to Coeur d'Alene in February 1994 provided an opportunity for Tom Farbo to talk with her. While much was learned about the family, she definitely had no information or memory about the skeletons. She thought Allen had never spoken of them in her presence, even though she had gone with him on elk hunts to the area — actually to Kelly Creek, upriver from Pot Mountain. Together, she and Tom Farbo again examined five old books of photos, albums Tom described as old and worn, some with pages coming loose. Several of the pictures I had copied were there, but others — particularly the skeleton picture, but also the photos of slabtown and of the Judd wagon — were not.

### Conclusions

As the picture shows, it was a fatal encounter, man against moose. Beyond this, things are not so apparent. The gun had been fired. One may suppose the man attempted to kill the moose and was caught in the rush of the wounded animal. Or perhaps the moose charged and the man fired in self defense. Either way, the man was killed as the animal fell and died.

No evidence has turned up as to who the man may have been. Investigations disclose several deaths within the general area, but none that could relate to the observed skeletons. Neither were any reports found of a missing person, yet one or more of the many trappers, miners and others who wandered this vast wilderness easily could have disappeared, unnoticed.

It was a strange both to Farbo and to me that no

trace of the story could be found. Surely the Woolseys would tell about what they had seen, but where and to whom? Bertha Woolsey did not remember, but memories depend on interests, circumstances, and, most important, on the capricious nature of memory itself. The eventual discovery of two people in the Fraser-Orofino area who remembered hearing about the skeletons was a great satisfaction.

The story speaks eloquently of the hazards faced by men who traveled the wilds alone. The story of the man on Death Creek, the drowning of Jack Sprague, the skull, perhaps of an Indian, found at Skull Creek — all underscore this point.

The pursuit of this story shows how hard it may be to get satisfying and complete answers once a principal source of information is lost. Apparently lost, as well, are the original photo of the skeletons, one of the Judd wagon, and one of Slabtown. While my negatives preserve these somewhat (none is in absolute focus), they do not replace original prints.

As said before, this story of the skeletons is told now only because it seems worth telling, and apparently no one else is in line to tell it. I want again to thank Tom Farbo and Yvonne Lewis for their help. Without it, research for the story could never have been completed.

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4. U.S. Forest Service. 1926. Clearwater Forest map. Scale one-half inch: 1 mile.

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John B. Miller, a lifetime member of the Latah County Historical Society, is the author of *The Trees Grew Tall*, a detailed history of the forested areas of Latah County published in 1972. Mr. Miller's parents moved to Moscow in 1902 and then settled on a homestead in the Bovill area two years later. He left Bovill as a young man, spending most of his working career as a field specialist in exploration geology with Standard Oil of California. In addition to his book, Mr. Miller wrote an article on Buffalo in Latah County for the spring 1981 *Latah Legacy*. His material on horse era farming will be the subject of future articles. In addition to documenting the history of the county, Mr. Miller has been a generous supporter and has donated numerous articles to our collection.

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# Law, Order, and Community Values In Early Moscow, Idaho, 1887-1893

Rosemary Huskey

The climax of that quintessential Western film, *High Noon*, is reached when the sheriff wins the shoot-out for control of the streets, and hence, the community. His victory determines the path the town will take.<sup>1</sup> This cherished scenario serves as a metaphor for western community development: command of the streets equals command of the town. Dramatic gun battles are rarely a part of the historical development of a community. The legislative methods of Moscow's founders, while less overtly violent, covertly achieved the same end. City ordinances, at first glance, appear to be legislative laundry lists with no particular philosophical agenda. Closer scrutiny reveals a pattern in which ordinances controlled movement, defined socially acceptable behavior, and legislated the type, style, and visibility of commercial transactions. This article explores the vision of the city trustees and how their vision institutionalized civic life in Moscow, Idaho, between 1887 and 1892.

On July 11, 1887, the Board of County Commissioners of Nez Perce County, Idaho Territory, granted a petition for incorporation of the city of Moscow. Following the standards of the day, neither voice nor vote was extended to women, native Americans, Chinese or other Asians. Although Idaho would be among the first states to give women the vote, the Idaho territorial legislature also prohibited women from holding office.

In an effort to increase community population, glowing reports of life in Moscow were sent to distant newspapers. The unblushing exaggerations about the ease of life apparently seduced many readers. Moscow's population in 1885 was around 500; by 1890, it had doubled.<sup>2</sup> The promotional

literature targeted "poor men" and "capitalists." Of course, "poor men" did not expect to stay poor; the advertising campaign's success lay in selling the dream of achieving prosperity.

## Moscow

A rapidly growing village in the heart of the richest and most productive grain and vegetable county in the West. The place for the poor man to begin and the capitalists to locate. A natural stock raising country. Peaches, apples, pears, grapes, cherries, and prunes grow in the canyons and on the river bottoms. Wheat, flax, oats, and barley are the staple ... the lawyers are engaged in various pursuits other than their profession while the doctors as a general rule are poor. Because of the heathfulness of the climate, they are continually emigrating to more favorable locations for the practicing of their profession.<sup>3</sup>

Many battles for control of the streets occurred not between outlaws and marshals as in *High Noon*, but among the city trustees themselves. The strutting, posturing, and marking of territorial boundaries — literally and figuratively — were gleefully reported in the local newspaper. A growing population increased the responsibilities of the city trustees. Although not as extreme as the shoot-out in the Hollywood movie, a drama did take place on Main Street. The October 2, 1891, issue of *Moscow Mirror* documents the struggle:

### Removal of Street Commissioner Cole Asked for His Disobeying Orders

On Monday evening, Barton and Street Commissioner Cole kept things lively for several hours. Barton asked the council to remove Cole for not doing his duty and disobeying the orders of the



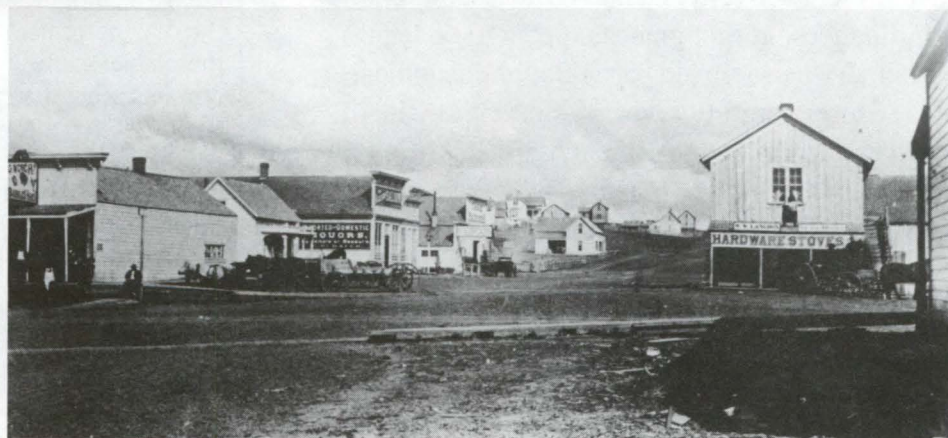
## *'A rapidly growing village...'*



Left: A view of Moscow in 1883. Lower: Moscow in 1885, looking north from the corner of First and Main streets. At the right corner is an office of the Justice of the Peace; the next building is William J. McConnell's store. The buildings beyond White's Drug Store are a bank exchange and the Fry Hotel. The street sign between the McConnell and White Drug stores appears to have a lantern affixed to the top. Also note the board sidewalks, muddy streets, and the clock in the left foreground.



Right: Moscow in 1885, looking east across Main at Third street. At right is W. W. Langdon's hardware store, later replaced by David's Department Store. Across the street is George (Gottfried) Weber's Harness Shop and a saloon advertising imported and domestic liquors. Long plank sidewalks helped pedestrians cross the muddy streets.



In 1882, Otto Fries with his partner Joseph Niederstadt opened the Moscow Brewery at the corner of Main and A streets. The business passed to Mr. Koehler and then Fred Francl, a Bavarian-born immigrant who took ownership in 1902. In 1908, Moscow banned the sale of alcoholic beverages; in that same year, an arsonist burned the brewery building. In this photo, a group of G.A.R. (Grand Army of the Republic) veterans with drums and a flag stand in front of the false-fronted brewery. The building in the background is a livery stable. (1-3-47)





council. The matter was taken under consideration and Cole was ordered to quit work on the streets until the matter was settled by the council. It appears that Cole refused to give Barton a plow and two scrapers which belong to the town on a written order from the clerk by order of the council. Barton wanted the tools to use in making excavations for the Hotel Moscow, the dirt to be used in grading streets, and costing the town only the use of the tools.

Mr. Barton was the owner of the Hotel Moscow. A leading businessman and city trustee, Barton clearly hoped to benefit from his civic position. By combining private business with public need, he placed himself in the profitable position of free and official access to city equipment. The street commissioner, Mr. Cole, unwilling to yield control of "his" machinery and tools to Mr. Barton, sensed a high-handed abuse of the public trust, and infringement on his territory as street commissioner. Not surprisingly, office and pocketbook prevailed. In this case, control of the town literally meant control of the streets and street machinery.

For the first four years, the councilmen served voluntarily. During salary negotiations in April 1889, the trustees' remuneration is described as "the distinguished honor of receiving the growls and curses of the citizens at large and no other compensation whatsoever. The city attorney shall receive the same salary as the trustees."<sup>4</sup> Other city offices provided cash rewards. In 1892, the trustees voted themselves a small stipend of \$2.50 per meeting; running the city had presumably ceased to be purely a hobby.

Following the incorporation of Moscow in 1887, the first salaried and consistently the highest-paid employee was the marshall, who received \$900 a year. His duties, as outlined in Ordinance 6, allowed him flexibility in interpreting the law. He was primarily answerable to his employers, the city trustees, or the Justice of the Peace. His overriding mandate was to "exercise vigilant control over the peace and quiet of the town." The marshal functioned as the eyes and ears of the trustees. Imagine what the Moscow city marshal might see (and might not see) as he strolled the streets of Moscow. A glance up and down Main Street would assure him that no animals were running at large within town

limits. Animals could, however, be driven to market on city streets.<sup>5</sup> Ordinance 12 prevented unlicensed dogs from roaming the streets, with harsh penalties for the transgressors. The ordinance used a now obsolete definition of female dog, "slut."

The owner or person having in charge any dog permitted to run at large within the limits of this town shall ... pay one dollar and fifty cents in gold or silver coin for each and every male dog and the sum of three dollars for each and every slut or female dog ... no slut or female dog in time of heat ... shall run at large....The marshall shall seize, kill and properly bury in some suitable place outside the city limits all dogs found running at large in violation ... provided further that no dog shall be killed unless it has been kept in a city pound at least 48 hours. The marshall shall receive the sum of one dollar for each dog seized, killed and buried.

Like other western cities, Moscow openly discriminated against the Chinese residents. As the marshall strolled down Main Street, he would not see any "Chinamen" doing business there. Ordinance 5 limited Chinese laundries to a tiny side street area: "No Chinamen or other person shall keep, run, or keep for hire any wash house on Main Street nor any side street between 1st and 5th Street North and South, nor between Monroe and Asbury Street East and West unless by special ordinance."

More dangerous to community order and control were drifters. As vagabonds, they had no allegiance to the city and were to be banished. Vagrancy laws, stringent and rigidly enforced, undermined the mystique of the roving, romantic cowboy. The vagrants' major vice appeared to be their poverty. These people were the opposites of the emigrant the newspapers wanted to recruit, and the city ordinance against them was strict:

Every person without visible means of support, who has the physical ability to work, and who does not for the space of two days seek employment, nor labor when employment is offered to him, every healthy beggar who solicits almost as a business, every person without some legitimate business; every idle or dissolute person or associate of known thieves who wanders about the streets at late or unusual hours of the night, or who lodges in any border, shed, shop, outhouse or place other than such as is kept for lodging purposes, without the permission of the owner or party entitled to the possession of the same, every lewd and dissolute





The first Latah County officials in 1888 included some prominent Moscow citizens. From left are W. W. Langdon, John Lieuallen, W. B. Kyle, Roland Hodgins, W. M. Frazier, John Naylor, R. H. Barton, and C. B. Reynolds. Mr. Langdon was proprietor of a hardware store. Mr. Lieuallen, nephew of A. A. Lieuallen, one of Moscow's founders, owned the grocery store pictured below and later built the Lieuallen Building at 207 South Main. Mr. Hodgins and his partner Tom Reese purchased the White Drug Store in 1885, replacing it with a two-story brick store in 1891. In 1892, they moved their business to the Hovenden Building at 307 South Main where it remains today. Mr. Barton came to Moscow in 1877 and set up a sawmill with machinery he brought with him from Walla Walla.

In 1880 he built Moscow's first hotel. When it burned in 1890, he rebuilt what is now the Moscow Hotel at a cost of over \$35,000. John Naylor moved to the Moscow area in 1876, homesteading land for a farm. In 1892, he moved into town and opened a real estate and insurance business. He later became county sheriff. Four of the men have watches hanging from watch chains, and John Naylor has a fancy stick pin in his cravat. Behind them is a painted backdrop suggesting a formal garden. In 1888, incidentally, county revenues were \$40,783.53 and expenditures were \$33,130.84, including \$20,000 for building a new county courthouse for the 10,000 people who lived in the county. (#6-10-4, Historical Photograph Collection, University of Idaho Library)



John and Clint Lieuallen were proprietors of the Moscow Grocery Co., Ltd. on the northwest corner of Main and Third streets. In the photo from left to right are Clint Lieuallen, Frank Simmons, Grant Lieuallen, Dr. Blake, Harry Gallup, and Frank Stannus. Dr. Blake was Moscow's first physician. He graduated from England's Oxford University and came to Moscow in 1877. Note the fire hydrant, the boxes of fruit, and the water barrels in the foreground and the wagon in the background. (1-3-28)



who lives in and about houses of ill fame, and common prostitute and common drunkard is a vagrant and punishable. First by imprisonment in the Town jail not exceeding ten days, Second, by fine, not exceeding twenty dollars and costs, Third by working on the streets of said Town of Moscow under the direction of the Street Commissioner until such fine and cost be paid and each person so employed in labor on the street, commissioner shall be allowed the sum of two dollars per day until such fine and costs are paid.

The *Moscow Mirror* applauded the marshal's methods of dealing with hobos according to the items in the September 4, 1891, issue:

This week the hobos and tramps have been more numerous than usual. Yesterday morning twelve of them were corralled in the town jail for vagrancy and drunkenness. While taking one to the town jail Wednesday, he started to run but a bullet in the ground near his heels rolled him in the dirt. Last Sunday Marshal Robbins found some hobos under one of the warehouses. They had three new coats and two pair of pants in their possession, which they claimed they found between Moscow and Kendrick. The clothes were taken away from them and can be seen at Police headquarters.

City ordinances also favored local businesses over competition from peddlers and street merchants. Street peddlers, that is anyone who sold on the streets of Moscow any product not grown, made or manufactured in Idaho, paid a license fee of \$50 per quarter. The only record that this ordinance was enforced involved an unnamed Chinese man who was fined \$50 on May 5, 1893.

Almost a third of city ordinances concerned planning. In 19th century urban planning, businesses were located in the center of the town, encircled by residential areas. The north-south street names honored past presidents with the exception of Almon, Asbury, Lieuallen (a town founder), and Deakin (another town founder). The east-west streets were letters and numbers. Only one street had a woman's name, Lilly, in memory of Lillie Lieuallen Hammond, a descendant of one of the town's founders who died in infancy.

Community residents helped construct streets and wooden sidewalks. Men over the age of 21 and under 50 were required to give two days of labor per year between the months of April and October. They could pay a substitute; those who did not

contribute were subject to a fine or jail sentence as outlined in Ordinance 7:

...failure to comply with any of the provisions of this ordinance shall be deemed a misdemeanor and upon conviction before the Justice of the Peace the offender shall be subject to a fine not less than five dollars and not more than twenty-five dollars for each and every offense.

No detail of construction was too minute to address. The same ordinance prescribed construction techniques and the size and type of lumber. It also directed that sidewalks on Main Street be 12 feet wide on the east side and 10 feet wide on the west; all other sidewalks were 5 feet in width. And Ordinance 10 defined the size of nails to be used in sidewalk construction.

There were no sidewalks in front of the bawdy houses. The town marshal strolling by Jackson and A Streets would have walked along muddy streets. He certainly had a wink, a nod, perhaps a twirl of his cane for Grace or Mabel, infamous inmates of 222. Arguably the most interesting criminal code was Ordinance 19 which prohibited prostitution. The ambivalence toward the inmates of bawdy houses can be characterized on the one hand by the punitive tone of the ordinance and on the other by examining the location of the busy brothels and the arrest records of the women who worked there:

That it shall be unlawful for any person or persons to open, set up or keep a bawdy house or houses or place where fornication is enacted or to frequent, reside in or become an inmate thereof. Any person who shall open up or maintain any bawdy house or houses or places where fornication is enacted or knowingly aid or assist in setting up, keeping or maintaining the same shall upon conviction thereof before a Justice of the Peace be punished by a fine of not less than twenty dollars nor more than two hundred dollars with the costs of said action or in default of the judgment of such fine by imprisonment in the Town Jail not less than 10 days nor more than 90 days. Anyone ... within the confines of ... the town of Moscow who shall frequent, reside in or become an inmate of any bawdy house or houses or places where fornication is enacted shall upon conviction thereof before a Justice of the Peace be punished by a fine of not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars.

The language of the ordinance strongly sug-



gests that there was no place in Moscow for fornicators, madams, or whores. The reality is quite a different picture, as Priscilla Wegar's prize-winning study has shown.<sup>6</sup> There were at least four bawdy houses in Moscow, three of which were located directly across the street from the city jail. Lawmakers and lawbreakers had achieved a mutual understanding and, on at least one occasion, money was involved. An enterprising muckraker from the *Spokesman Review* newspaper uncovered a scandal that rocked Moscow.

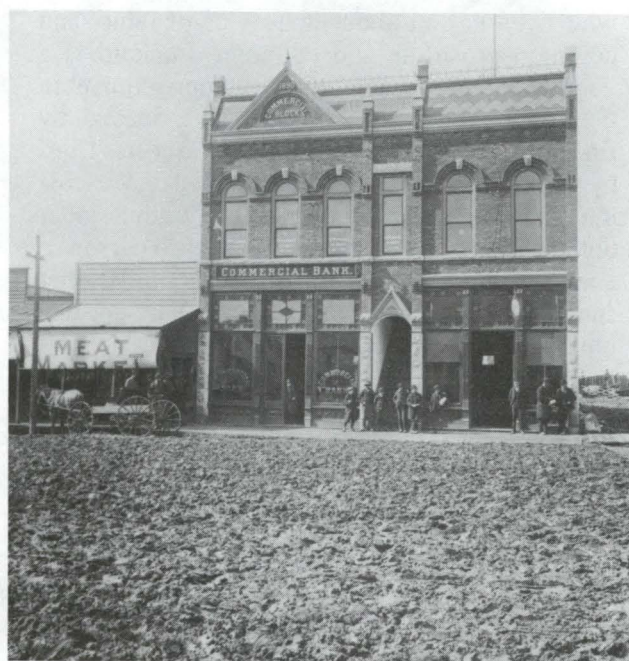
#### Moscow's Municipal Scandal The Police Judge Roasted for His Acts Money Collected Unlawfully

...The boldness of the inmates of the houses of ill-fame in this city has attracted the attention of the citizens at large and a committee of gentlemen was selected to call on the municipal judge and place the matter before him. This was done, but with no effect, and on investigation it transpires that Judge Griffin and Marshal Robbins had issued a license to each of the fourteen women here for the sum of \$10, giving them the right to keep and be inmates of houses of ill fame. The receipts which have both the judge's signature and that of the marshal, give the women the privilege of plying their business between September 1 and October 1. This act has brought down upon the heads of those officials the indignation of the respectable class of Moscow citizens, and a criminal charge will be brought against them at the next session of the district court.<sup>7</sup>

The sequel in the October 30, 1891, edition of the *Mirror* relates Griffin's resignation as police judge. Mr. Griffin claimed the \$10 was not a license but a fine. "But there was no arrests relating to the fine ... the fine was collected illegally and fraudulently." The paper concludes that consequently the original statement is "practically true."

The arrest record of prostitutes from 1892 to 1896 reveals a history of repeat offenders and fines smaller than the ordinance dictated. Bawdy women might not be respectable, but they were tolerated. Arrests seemed to occur in groups at roughly six-month intervals. Only two arrests record the apprehension of identifiable madams, which suggests the payment of protection money.

Prostitution was a side-street business. As the marshal walked on down Main Street, capitalism



The Commercial Block at 213 and 215 South Main was constructed in 1890 by Isaac C. Hattabaugh for the Commercial Bank. The bank lasted only until 1894, a victim of the 1893 national depression. The *Star of Idaho* newspaper, later the *North Idaho Star* and then the Moscow *Star-Mirror*, occupied the north part of the block. The tall pole with a star at the top, rising from the roof, advertises the newspaper. Little remains of the original embellishments. Note the meat market with the horse and wagon. It may be that Moscow was preparing for electricity. A pole stands before the meat market and wires connected to porcelain insulators are affixed to the facade. The city began providing electric service to businesses and some street lights in 1889. (1-3-177, photo courtesy of the Montana Historical Society)

flourished in more conventional business houses. All businesses required licenses as a means of regulating commercial enterprises. The saloon was the most important, gender-exclusive trade. Women were specifically excluded from "acting as a waitress or bartender or singing or dancing." Certainly they would not have been there as patrons. It is interesting that minors were also prevented from hanging about bars and were specifically prohibited from playing billiards in the bar room.

Gambling, a favorite saloon pastime, was carefully regulated by Ordinance 34. Faro, Monte and Twenty One were permitted; roulette, any percentage game, or "the game commonly called the thimble game" (presumably the equivalent of the modern shell game) were banned. Still, the trustees of Moscow had difficulty deciding what to do about gam-





The Smith-Dolson Building, erected in 1891 at 211 South Main, was part of Moscow's rapid expansion which replaced wooden buildings with two-story brick "blocks." Next door is the Commercial Block. The large star advertises the *North Idaho Star* newspaper which later merged with the *Moscow Mirror* to become the *Star-Mirror*. Directly below is a large clock fashioned to look like a watch — probably the same one that appears in the 1885 photo on page 22. Rugs are displayed in two of the windows. Two years after the building was completed, the Smith-Dolson Company along with banks and businesses across the country became casualties of the 1893 national depression. The building later housed the Creighton Dry Good Store which remained here until the early 1990s. The handsome arched windows, ornamentation, canvas awnings, and large store windows have been covered up, removed, or radically modified. (1-3-46)

bling, wavering back and forth on the issue. The desire for taxable income ultimately defeated any pangs of consciences. The license fee, payable in gold coin, went to the school district (a rationale revived in the present-day state lottery), which helped relieve the city of some of the financial burden of education.

When the marshal turned east on Third and Main streets, he was just a few short blocks from the residential area. He could quickly survey the state of the community's health just by observing the signs and flags posted at certain homes. Public health was an issue of overwhelming concern to early Moscow residents.<sup>8</sup> This sample of related health news items in the *Moscow Mirror* provides us with poignant reminders of why that was so:

Little Amos Gillam is sick with a fever. Miss Maddie Robbins is very sick this week. Donald McKenzie's little girl has been quite sick. W. A. Lauder has been confined to his bed since his

return from Spokane Falls last week.<sup>9</sup> Johnny Langdon is home and down with the measles. Dr. A. E. Sanders and family feel grateful for the kindness and sympathy extended to them during their bereavement on the death of their child.<sup>10</sup> Typhoid fever claimed the life of 16-year-old May Rowland during the summer of 1889. Lillie Lieuallen Hammond, infant daughter of Henry and Emma Hammond, died August 12, 1889, aged 5 months and 12 days.<sup>11</sup>

At the end of each day, the marshal had one last official duty, ringing the curfew bell. Ordinance 66 denied access to the streets, unless accompanied by an adult or with written permission from a parent or guardian, to those 15 years and younger from two hours after sunset to four o'clock in the morning. Curfew is one of the oldest and most effective methods of controlling a population. The pass system used to control African-Americans in the ante-

### County seat and University town

*The 1886 Polk business directory described Moscow as a "prosperous town on Paradise creek, in Nez Perces county. It contains four churches, good schools, a steam flouring mill, a bank, a number of special and general stores and a weekly newspaper, the Moscow Mirror. Ships grain and livestock. Stages daily to Lewiston and all surrounding points. Population 1,000." Among the businesses listed are two hotels, four saloons, one brewery, two Chinese laundries, two milliners, a cigar store, and a merchant tailor.*

*By 1890, Moscow was experiencing a growth spurt, due in large part to its becoming the county seat and home of the new University. The entry in the business directory boasted of the new \$20,000 courthouse and \$16,000 school, a steam roller mill, a cigar factory, and a large opera house built by the G.A.R. There were seven churches, two weekly newspapers, and daily stages to Lewiston, Genesee, Palouse, and Juliaetta. The population had increased by 200 and all over town new additions were being platted.*



bellum south may well have been the model the city used for its ordinance.

Romantic notions of how the West was settled have often ignored the legal realities of city ordinances and expected behaviors. Moscow, like most western towns, was seeking to promote orderly growth and a well-regulated community in which its "acceptable" citizens would prosper through the coming generations. The ordinances reveal that the city was more preoccupied with unrestrained animals, sidewalks and streets, salaries and revenues than with trappings of western towns portrayed in Hollywood westerns. The town marshal provided the city fathers with opportunities to realize personal, social and political goals which reflected their private beliefs about the kind of city they were building for the future.

### Endnotes

1. *High Noon*, Directed by Fred Zimmerman, 1952.
2. *Moscow Mirror*, May 15, 1891
3. *Moscow Mirror*, January 15, 1886
4. Moscow City Ordinance #17
5. Moscow City Ordinance #4
6. Priscilla Wegars. *Inmates of Body Houses: Prostitution in Moscow 1885 to 1910*. Typescript 1986. Day Northwest Special Collection, University of Idaho Library, Moscow, Idaho.
7. *Moscow Mirror*, September 1891
8. Moscow City Ordinance 16, an ordinance to "protect the public health and prevent spread of dangerous and contagious disease," directed the city marshall, in Section 1, to keep "a book in

which shall be entered the name and place of residence of every person who is affected with any of the diseases mentioned in the ordinance and also the name and age, residence, sex, nativity, color and such other details as the Board of Health may deem requisite of every person dying within the town and the cause of death as nearly as can be ascertained." Section 6 stipulated that "every person practicing midwifery in this Town under whose charge ...births shall hereafter take place shall keep a true and exact register of such births...." Section 7 made it the responsibility of the health officer to "cause all cases of Asiatic Cholera or small pox brought to his notice to be examined and report the result of such examination," while Section 10 required public notice of cases of Asiatic Cholera, smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, measles, whooping cough, chicken pox and other diseases by posting "a green flag in case of diphtheria, a scarlet flag in case of scarlet fever, a yellow flag in case of small pox and all other cases a white flag in some conspicuous place on the premises where it may be seen by people passing the street near said premises...."

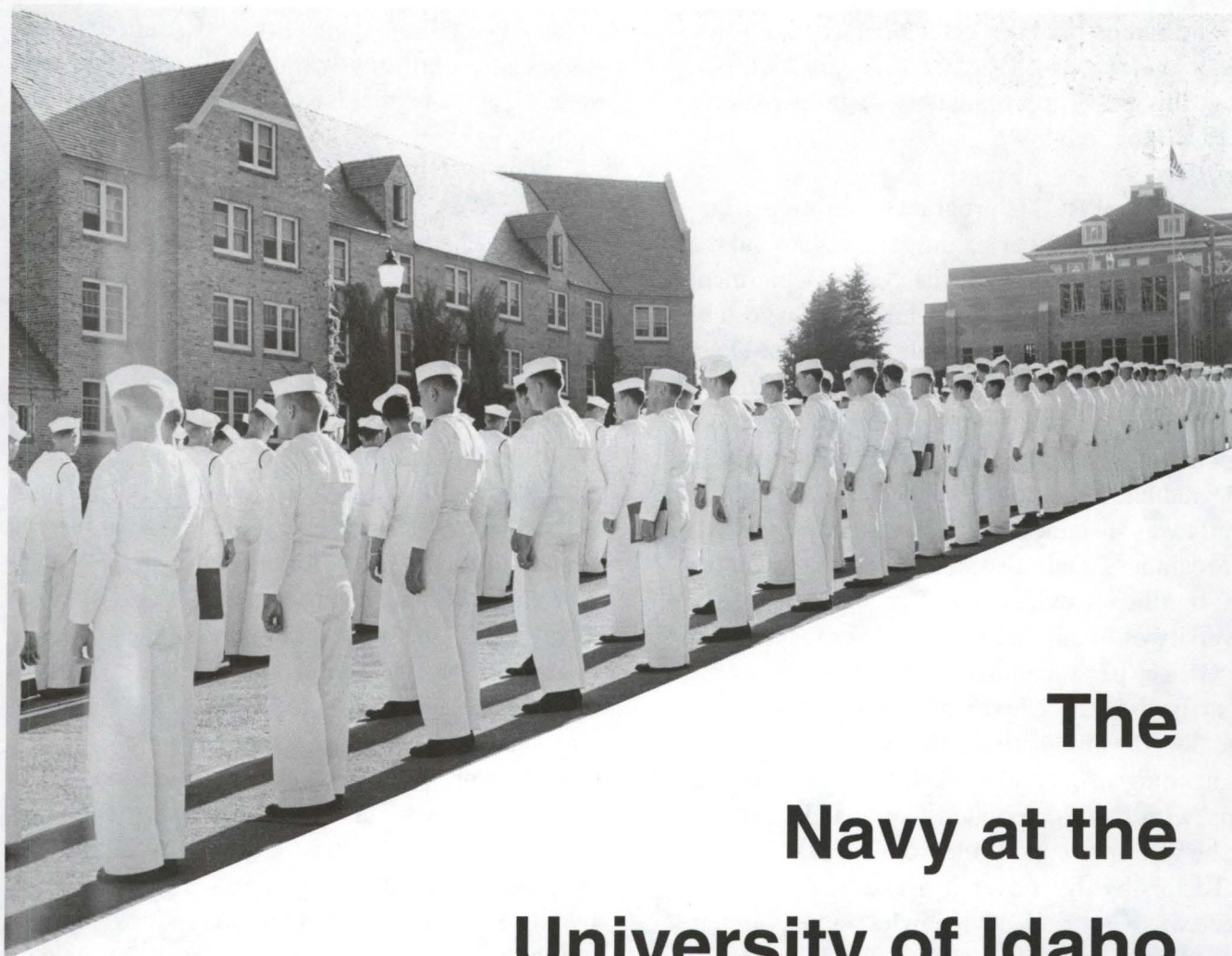
9. *Moscow Mirror*, August 1890
10. *Moscow Mirror*, June 17, 1887
11. *Moscow Mirror*, September 17, 1889

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A long-time resident of Moscow, Rosemary Huskey is a graduate student in history and a reference assistant at the University of Idaho.

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# The Navy at the University of Idaho

**Naval ROTC, University of Idaho**

The University of Idaho established its first ties with the U.S. Navy during World War II. Along with the rest of the country, the university was willing to enter into the war effort head first. On March 26, 1942, University President Harrison C. Dale announced that the Navy Department had awarded the university a contract to train navy personnel as radio telegraphers and technicians.

The university's radio training operation fell under the 13th Naval District headquartered in Seattle. The contract with the Navy called for the university to provide housing, classroom facilities, and instruction for approximately 600 radiomen every 4 months on a continuous 12 month basis. The university's registration was offset the following year by 600 students to compensate for the naval trainees.

On Saturday, April 25, 1942, the equipment needed to establish a training command arrived on campus. The naval liaison officer, Lt. Louis I. Nadeau, arrived April 28, and instruction of the radiomen started the first week in May. The University of Idaho became the 14th institution, under such a contract, to train military personnel.

The naval radio center took possession of Chrisman and Sweet Halls for berthing, the University Classroom Building — a frame building across from the Dairy Building — and a newly constructed frame building, now used for the NROTC unit. During the opening days, Lt. Nadeau had under his command Robert Retherford (the civilian technical supervisor), a chief boatswain mate, a second class radioman, a third class yeoman, and 12 civilian instructors.



The radio training center operated for three years. It graduated its last class on January 15, 1945. During this time, approximately 4,400 men were trained at the facility.

The Naval ROTC program has a longer history. It began in 1922 at six universities around the country. On May 1, 1945, the Navy Department reported that a Naval ROTC unit would be established at the University of Idaho. President Dale, upon hearing the news, said, "We at Idaho will be delighted to continue the navy tradition which began when Vice Admiral Robert E. Ghormley, a 1901 graduate, entered the service and which until recently was sustained by the naval training school on the campus." Dale also stated, "This is one of the most significant evidences of recognition of the University of Idaho that we have ever received."

Officer personnel and ships company for the unit arrived at the University during August and September 1945 to activate the program. The first commanding officer was Capt. S. H. Ambruster. Along with being appointed Commandant of the unit, he was appointed Professor of Naval Science and Tactics by the university. The first executive officer was Cmdr. H. P. Knowles; other officers attached were Lts. W. Welti, C. B. Huber, H. T. Torrance, F. Jacobsen, and F. L. Gilman.

On Sept. 17, 1945, the first 50 of 200 Naval ROTC trainees arrived with the remainder arriving two days later. The trainees were selected from enlisted personnel, about two-thirds from the fleet and one-third from shore stations. These first trainees were selected mostly for officer aptitude and not on grades from high school.

In December 1945, Captain Ambruster announced that the NROTC unit would stop functioning as it had been and would be taken out of its active-duty status. In January 1946, the NROTC battalion was reorganized. Midshipman W. H. Johnston was appointed the first battalion commander under this more familiar form.

Captain Ambruster granted a relaxation of certain rules in early May 1946. After a request made by the battalion staff, he permitted trainees liberty every night until 10:15 p.m. with no evening

muster. In addition, trainees were permitted to wear their khaki uniforms without coats to class, and wearing of the regular NROTC visor hats was made optional.

The student newspaper, *The Idaho Argonaut*, announced on May 9, 1946, that "Goodby Blues" had been selected as the theme for the second Navy Ball. The theme signified the change from Navy uniforms to civilian clothes. The ball was held on May 25, 1946, and turned out to be the top social event of the year on campus.

The first two weeks of the 1946-47 school year were spent recruiting, interviewing, and processing possible candidates for the new NROTC program authorized by Congress. A series of naval movies was shown at the Navy Building early in the semester in hopes of increasing unit enrollment.

In 1947, the Board of Regents approved a new degree at the University. The Bachelor of Navy Science degree was awarded to Naval ROTC graduates at the 1947 commencement.

On April 10, 1947, the constitution and bylaws for a new Navy social club, Eagle and Anchor, was presented to the members of the NROTC unit. The proposed organization was similar to those formed by NROTC students at other universities throughout the country. Officers were elected for the new organization on the 25th of that month. The clubhouse was a wardroom complete with a soft drink machine, a radio-phonograph, and a pool table.

During these early years, the pistol, rifle, and drill teams played a large part in establishing the University of Idaho Naval ROTC as a competitive entity on campus and among universities across the country. In November 1947, for example, the rifle and pistol teams each outscored teams from Duke University, the University of New Mexico, Miami University, and Marquette University, among others, in postal matches.

The NROTC unit published the first edition of *Vandal Middie*, the unit newspaper, in November 1948. This was the forerunner of today's twice-yearly newspaper, *Main Stay*.

In the history of the University of Idaho's connection with the Naval program, graduates have included one Congressional Medal of Honor recipi-



ent, several Navy Cross Medal recipients, and numerous Silver and Bronze Star recipients, and have earned recognition for many other military and civilian accomplishments.

In September 1984, a cross-campus NROTC agreement was signed between the University of Idaho and Washington State University. This afforded WSU students opportunity to participate in the NROTC experience while continuing to attend school in Pullman. Since then, some 40 Naval and

Marine Corps officers have become distinguished alumni of Washington State University.

Enrollment in the University of Idaho/WSU NROTC unit has fluctuated between 100 and 200 students, and is just over 100 students currently. The primary tie between these current students and all of the program's graduates is the feeling of pride instilled by the professional Navy and Marine Corps personnel who have come before them and have set the highest standards.







## LIFETIME MEMBERS

Michael Anderson, Bozeman, MT  
Mary Banks, Moscow  
Lura Berry, Moscow  
Patricia Brocke Bloomster, Portland  
Willis Bohman, Moscow  
Robert Earl Clyde, Moscow  
T. H. Correll, Lewiston, Idaho  
Leon Danielson, Clarkston, WA  
Mary Williamson d'Easum, Boise  
Larry French, Potlatch, Idaho  
William & Janet Greever, Moscow  
Gordon & Grace Hauck, Portland, Oregon  
Dorothy R. Henrikson, Moscow  
Robert Hosack, Moscow  
Kathryn Collins Howells, Moscow  
Mildred Humphrey Miller, Longview, Washington  
Dorothy Green Korn, Yakima, WA  
Agnes Pavel Kottke, Moscow  
Gladys Love, Palo Alto, California  
Patricia Lowe, Huntsville, AL  
John & Rowena Luedke, Moscow  
Vaughn P. McDonald, Moscow  
Sophia Marineau, Moscow  
Boyd A. Martin, Moscow  
John B. Miller, Belmont, California  
Gainford Mix, Moscow  
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The society's library and offices are located in Centennial Annex, 327 East Second St., Moscow; the hours are Tuesday though Friday, 9 a.m. to noon, and 1 to 5 p.m. The McConnell Mansion Museum is open Tuesday through Saturday from 1 to 4 p.m. Visits to the museum or research archives at other times can be arranged by calling (208) 882-1004.